

The Antiquaries Journal

VOL. XII

October, 1932

No. 4

Excavations at Ur, 1931-2

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[Read 12 May 1932]

THE tenth season of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania began work in the field on 25 November 1931, and closed down on 19 March 1932. In addition to my wife, my staff included Mr. J. C. Rose, who came out as architect for his second season, and Mr. R. P. Ross-Williamson, who acted as general archaeological assistant; Mr. F. L. W. Richardson of Boston, Massachusetts, was also attached to the Expedition to make a contoured survey of the site (pl. LVIII). No epigraphist was engaged, for the work contemplated was not expected to produce much in the way of inscriptions; but an arrangement was made whereby Dr. Cyrus B. Gordon, epigraphist on the Tell Billah Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, could be called upon to give his services when required; actually a single visit enabled him to do all that was essential. To each of these I am very much indebted. As usual, Hamoudi was head foreman, with his sons Yahia, Ibrahim and Alawi acting under him, and as usual was invaluable; Yahia also was responsible for all the photographic work of the season. The average number of men employed was 180. This relatively small number of workmen, and the shortness of the season, were dictated partly by reasons of finance but more by the nature of our programme, which envisaged not any new departure in excavation but the clearing up of various points still in doubt and the further probing of sites already excavated, with a view to the final publication of the results

of former seasons; the work was therefore rather scattered, five different areas being investigated in turn.

I. In the published plans of the Temenos (*Antiq. Journ.* x, pls. xxix-xxxii) it will be observed that immediately inside the 'Cyrus' Gate on the N.E. side there is a large area in which no buildings at all are shown. The ground surface here has been much denuded by water action, and the probability of any buildings of the historic periods surviving had seemed so slight that for eight years I had left the site severely alone. In the winter of 1929-30 a trial trench cut just inside the gate brought to light a bitumen-lined tank of Third Dynasty construction. Unpromising as the area was, there did seem therefore a possibility of recovering enough to fill in a blank in the ground-plan and complete our knowledge of the topography of the Temenos. This season the trial trench was enlarged in every direction. Close to the Temenos wall there were found remains of various periods, but the walls were too fragmentary to give any plan or any idea of the nature of the buildings of which they had formed part. A very little way inland the last vestiges of the historic periods gave out and we encountered only wall fragments of plano-convex mud bricks, these also quite incoherent and so shoddy in character that the mean houses to which they belonged would scarcely have been worth excavating even had they been tolerably well preserved. Our results here were therefore largely negative. It was evident that in the time of the First Dynasty of Ur this part of the site was occupied not by temples but by small private houses; if there was a Temenos at that date it did not extend so far from the Ziggurat as the 'Cyrus' Gate of the Neo-Babylonian enclosure. Under the Third Dynasty there was here an important building to which the tank belonged, and a second (apparently, like the first, constructed by Dungi) whose S.W. front lay inside the late Temenos line but its main part extended beyond that line to the N.E.; at that date therefore the official buildings in this quarter stood in no relation to the limits chosen for Nebuchadnezzar's Temenos. The Kassite period saw the site once more occupied by private houses the ruins of which extended right under the foundations of Nebuchadnezzar's wall. The conclusion is that in this part at least Nebuchadnezzar's ground-plan was not dictated by tradition or by the existence of ancient temples which had to be included in his Sacred Area, but, in all probability, he was enlarging that area in order to provide room for new buildings of his own foundation. A single length of heavy mud-brick wall with buttressed face, of Neo-Babylonian date, which runs parallel with the

Temenos wall at a distance of 18.0 m. from it may be Nebuchadnezzar's work, and explain the alignment of his enclosure.

In the First Dynasty ruins there were found a few clay tablets and jar-sealings, but otherwise the site was barren of objects.

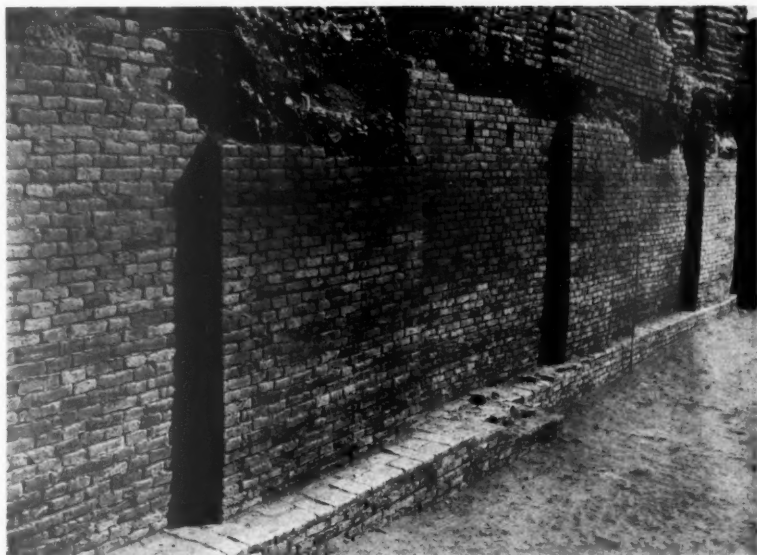
II. *The Cemetery Site*

At the close of the season 1928-9 there was found at the N.E. limit of the predynastic cemetery a grave, PG/1422, which in my report (*Antiq. Journ.* ix, p. 307) I described as apparently of intermediate date, inasmuch as its contents combined the characters of the earlier and of the Sargonid periods. In the season 1929-30 there were found in the immediate neighbourhood of this grave two pits (PG/1846-7) which had been plundered in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur but retained untouched certain subsidiary burials whose furniture was also of mixed character. In all of them the pottery was that found in graves dated by inscriptions etc. in the Sargonid Age. The cylinder seals were not quite Sargonid in type but manifestly later than the First Dynasty of Ur; the jewellery was for the most part late, but a gold figurine in PG/1422 recalled rather the style of the early graves, and some of the weapons were cast, and of the types found in the Royal cemetery, but there were examples of the hammered copper weapons which by the Sargonid time had replaced bronze castings. A careful analysis of all the graves in the cemetery area, worked out in the summer of 1931, confirmed first impressions. It became clear that on the N.E. outskirts of the old cemetery there was a homogeneous group of graves which, while coming very close to the Sargonid in date, were yet definitely earlier than Sargon; moreover they presented certain unusual features, in that PG/1422 was very much richer than any other late grave found, and PG/1846 and 7 were large rectangular shafts each containing a number of graves arranged round their sides (the middle of the shaft, presumably the place of the principal burial, had been plundered) so that they bore some resemblance to the royal graves, e.g. PG/1054. It seemed to me tolerably certain that we had here interments of the time of the Second Dynasty of Ur, possible that they were royal graves. The presence of subsidiary burials gave colour to the latter view, the doubt as to the date of the Second Dynasty and the probability that it preceded the Sargonid age by a relatively short space of time supported the former. That the graves were not of the First Dynasty of Ur was shown by the seals and by the pottery, for the types known to be characteristic of that dynasty were conspicuously lacking here, and some at least of

the Sargonid types found had not been introduced, so far as we know, under the First Dynasty. More evidence was required, however. The area in which further graves of this group could be found was limited, for the great mausoleum of Dungi and Bur-Sin, lying just to the N.E. of those already excavated, had destroyed all earlier remains down to the Jemdet Nasr level, but between the mausoleum and the excavations of former seasons there was a strip of ground not yet touched, and it was accordingly marked down for clearance this winter.

The first result of our work was to expose to ground level the outer (S.W.) wall of the mausoleum (v. pl. LIX, 1). This splendid example of Third Dynasty brickwork ranks second only to the Ziggurat in quality and in preservation. Like the Ziggurat, the wall is laid out not in a straight line but in a slightly convex curve, and the buttressed wall-face also is not only battered but convex vertically; the most striking feature is at the south end where the two rounded corners resting on square bases are really magnificent (pl. LX, 1). Each of these corners had been breached, in each case to exactly the same height above the foundation, presumably by robbers in search of foundation-deposits; the only other corner of the building (the west corner) which survives was excavated by us, a shaft being driven down into the brickwork from above to below the foundation of the superstructure, but no foundation-deposit was discovered; whether the old robbers had any better luck it is impossible to say.

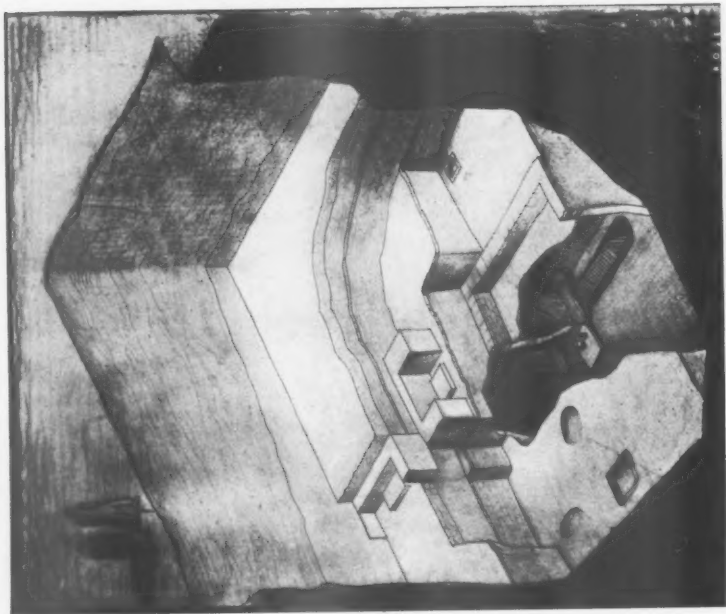
The Dungi mausoleum originally stood in a hollow, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say on a terrace cut into the slope of the old cemetery site; the two top courses of its foundation offset were exposed, but from the wall the ground level sloped up steeply to the high ground on the S.W. On the slope close to the wall we found some 200 bricks either stamped with the Dungi stamp or bearing the finger-prints which his brick-makers favoured. They were stacked in regular rows, leaning one against the other, three and four deep, and obviously had been put here for use in the building but left because they were superfluous to it. It is a curious commentary on the amenities of the Third Dynasty city that a pile of waste bricks should have been left in the proximity of one of the most important buildings until they were covered by rubbish. Under the bricks we found a very large number of inscribed tablets (apparently business documents, but they have not yet been read), which had been spread over a piece of matting and then the bricks had been stacked above them.



1. The Dungi mausoleum, outer face of S.W. wall



2. Grave PG/1848; the shaft in course of excavation



2. Grave PG/1848. Diagrammatic section, showing successive floor levels, altars, etc.



1. The Dungi mausoleum, south corner



1. Grave PG/1848. The 'table' and model boat in position below the enclosure wall



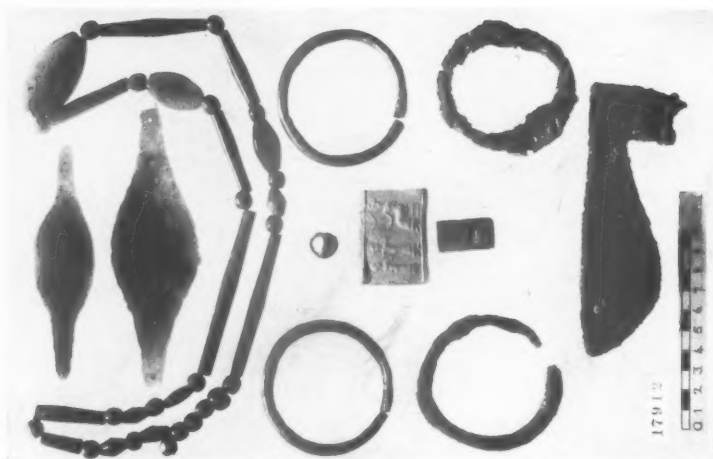
2. Grave PG/1848. The reed coffin



2. Impression from Mohenjo-Daro seal
of grey steatite, Grave PG/1848 (1)



3. One of five copper bulls' heads found in wall foundations
above PG/1850



1. Personal jewellery from Grave PG/1850,
Burial 9

The level at which graves could first be detected, i.e. the level of the tops of their shafts, was virtually that of the Third Dynasty ground-level against the Dungi mausoleum, but here the slope of the ground has to be taken into account; in the time of Dungi more than three metres of deposit lay above the shafts, and since the workmen who cleared the ground for the building cut it back at a slope, they failed to discover them. Bur-Sin's workmen found and plundered PG/1846 and 7—bricks stamped with the king's name, and quantities of bitumen, were found by us deep in the shafts—because Bur-Sin's annexe projected to the S.W. and encroached on the cemetery area, but, though the vault foundations cut into the side of PG/1848, the workmen failed to detect its presence and left it otherwise undisturbed. The terrace cut back into the hill, for the N.W. annexe of Bur-Sin lay so much higher than that of Dungi that the oversight is easily explained.

We discovered and cleared two shafts and part of a third. PG/1848 and PG/1849 (the partially cleared shaft) lie to the N.W. of PG/1847, which was dug in 1929-30, PG/1850 lies to the S.E. of PG/1846. All the shafts lie in a row, and their S.W. sides are in absolute alignment; they are separated from each other only by narrow walls of unexcavated soil. They should therefore be almost contemporary; at any rate there must have been some mark above-ground which defined exactly their position and enabled the grave-diggers to keep their line true and to avoid disturbing the next grave. From the point of view of chronology, which was the main interest of our excavation, the fact of prime importance was the following:—A wall of mud-brick ran from N.W. to S.E. above the S.W. edge of the line of shafts. At the N.W. end, by PG/1848 and 1849, we failed to trace it, but there were remains of it over PG/1847 and at the S.E. end of the excavated area it was standing to a height of 2.25 m. It was 2.40 m. wide at the base, diminishing to 1.50 m., and was built partly on the firm soil into which the shafts had been sunk, but for nearly half its width it rested on the filling of those shafts, and it also overhung the pit at the bottom of which was the grave PG/1422. A branch wall ran out from it along the S.E. edge of PG/1850, likewise resting half on the grave-filling and half on the solid ground, and there were traces of a similar branch-wall along the N.W. edge of the same grave, although these were so scanty that without the other walls they could scarcely have been taken as evidence. Possibly the main wall was built to define the new cemetery area; possibly it was, with the branch walls, part of a superstructure common

to all the shafts; in any case it can have been built only after the shafts had been dug and filled in again. The mud bricks of which the wall was built were of the plano-convex type, much rounded above, measuring 0.27 m. \times 0.17 m. with a maximum thickness of 0.10 m. In the foundations of the wall there was found a hollow in which lay piled one on the top of another five copper heads of bulls (*v. pl. LXII, 3*). The heads had obviously belonged either to statues of animals or to furniture, either, that is, to reliefs or figures in the round such as decorated the façade of the First Dynasty temple at al 'Ubaid, or to such things as the harps found in the 'old cemetery'; but they had been broken off from whatever it was to which they had belonged and had been deposited in the wall foundation as fragments. It is natural therefore to assume that they were older than the wall itself. Now in point of style the heads closely resemble those of al 'Ubaid, and contrast strongly with the many animal heads from the old cemetery; they have all the formed conventions of First Dynasty art and have altogether lost the naturalism of the predynastic sculptures; it is impossible to mistake their parentage. We have no means yet of knowing how long the First Dynasty canons persisted; the heads might be considerably later than A-an-ni-pad-da, but they cannot be much earlier; fortunately as evidence for date they are superfluous.

The existence of the plano-convex wall over the top of the shafts and the presence in the shaft PG/1848 of both rectangular and plano-convex bricks (*v. infra*, the detailed description of the shaft) prove that the graves date from the moment of transition from the plano-convex period to that in which square bricks were used for building.

At Tello it has been proved that plano-convex bricks were employed until the reign of Entemena and then went out of fashion. It is reasonable to suppose that the change took place at more or less the same time throughout Sumer, at least within the margin of a century or so; and though at Ur no definite evidence has been forthcoming we can fairly say that our plano-convex wall and the shaft graves beneath it are not later than Entemena.¹ One recognized system of dating would make Entemena come about 2800 B.C., he being the fourth descendant

¹ The archaeological evidence given in the following paragraph would exclude the possibility of the change taking place at Ur later than at Tello and therefore of bringing the date of the graves down into the Sargonid period; the fact that at Tello the change comes in the middle of one king's reign and not e.g. at the beginning of a new dynasty would rather suggest that the improved type of brick was borrowed from elsewhere and not a spontaneous local invention.

of Ur-Nina, who is put at between 3000 and 2900 B.C.¹ This would seem to be too early a date for our shaft graves.

The general resemblance between the contents of the shaft graves and those of dated Sargonid graves in the matter of head-dress, most of the pottery,² and many of the metal types, favours a reasonably close connexion in time, something much shorter than the three or four centuries implied by the early dating of Entemena. On the other hand, certain noticeable differences, e.g., in the cylinder seals and in some metal types, and the survival of predynastic axe forms and the use of plano-convex bricks in the graves as contrasted with their complete disappearance by the time of Sargon, necessitate a real time gap between them and therefore between Sargon and Entemena. This is against Weidner and Christian and would agree with Sidney Smith's chronology, bringing Entemena down to about 2600 B.C. Again the marked difference between the furniture of the shaft graves and the pottery and cylinder seals of the First Dynasty of Ur must mean that that dynasty is considerably earlier than the graves and therefore than Entemena; it is entirely opposed to that manipulation of the King-lists by which Weidner and Christian make the First Dynasty and Ur-Nina contemporary, and supports Sidney Smith's contention (*loc. cit.*). The yet more marked contrast between the shaft graves and those of the Royal Cemetery puts out of court the theory of Weidner and Christian that the Royal Cemetery should be dated in the First and Second Dynasties of Ur.³

Admitting that the relative date for the shaft graves is established—that they are not later than Entemena and might be contemporary with any one of the Lagash rulers preceding him—is there any excuse for the further assumption that they

¹ Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 70. Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 40, would put Ur-Nina later, c. 2700 B.C., and would make the downfall of the Second Dynasty of Ur come just about then at the hands of Lagash, whereas Gadd had rather favoured the First Dynasty of Ur as the victims of the Lagash conquest. Weidner and Christian, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Bd. v, p. 141, put Entemena at about 2550 B.C. and therefore immediately before Sargon of Akkad (2528 B.C.).

² Of the forty-five types of clay vessels found in the shaft graves and in PG/1422 twenty-two are found elsewhere in the cemetery area only in Sargonid graves, eleven are common to the Sargonid and to the early cemetery, four occur in the later graves of the predynastic cemetery and are not found in Sargonid graves, and eight are peculiar to the shaft graves and can therefore be called specifically 'Second Dynasty' types. These figures result from the study of the 1,850 graves in the cemetery area; an enlarged basis of study might modify the figures slightly but would not, I imagine, seriously change them.

³ In *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Bd. vii, p. 108.

represent the Second Dynasty? That there should exist at Ur graves of the Lagash period is inevitable; but is there anything to connect them with a particular dynasty of kings of Ur whose names do not occur in them and whose date is admittedly unknown? Their position in the time sequence, between the First Dynasty and Sargon, is compatible with whatever exact date be assigned to the Second Dynasty, but that is clearly not enough.

I have remarked that PG/1422 was unusually rich; indeed, for its wealth of gold and other objects it stood out from the general run of late (Sargonid) graves almost as conspicuously as did that of Mes-kalam-dug from the private graves of the early Royal Cemetery. It was also very much richer than any one burial in the graves PG/1846-50, but these were distinguished from it in another way, just as the royal tombs of the old cemetery were distinguished from Mes-kalam-dug's grave. PG/1422 was a plain pit containing a single burial, the body placed in a wooden coffin, the objects put some with the body and some in the pit outside the coffin. PG/1846-50 were large shafts containing a number of bodies, buried separately and generally in coffins (some were wrapped in matting) but buried all at the same time and with elaborate and long-drawn-out ceremonies. No such multiple burials occur amongst the private graves of the old cemetery, nothing like them is found in the Sargonid graveyard; but the analogy with the old royal tombs is striking. But though most of the bodies are adequately adorned with gold, the ornaments are very uniform; the principal burials, denoted as such by their position, are but little richer than the rest, and there is none of the violent contrast that distinguished the occupant of a royal tomb-chamber from his followers in the death-pit. If these are royal graves, they are the graves of very minor royalties; and, while it is of course possible that the kings of the Second Dynasty were no more than that, I am far from claiming that these are their graves. It might be argued that they are 'death-pits' belonging to tombs placed elsewhere,¹ possibly even above the top of the shaft; it is difficult not to push the obvious analogy with the royal tombs of older date. The closest parallel is with the royal tomb PG/1054² where the shaft was filled in by degrees and the upper burials are individually complete, as here, though in PG/1054 the tomb-chamber was at the bottom of the pit. The most moderate statement would perhaps be this: we have

¹ In the old cemetery, PG/1237 was a death-pit separated from its tomb-chamber; in PG/1051 the death-pit lay under the chamber.

² For a section of this see *Antiq. Journ.* ix, pl. xxvi.

here graves rich, but not so rich as to be necessarily royal, of a quite abnormal type, a partial parallel to which is only found in connexion with kings' tombs of a much older date, and they belong to a period which may well coincide with that during which there were again kings at Ur. To connect them with the reign of those kings may explain their peculiarities; to attribute them to any other period (which would be no less arbitrary) would make them inexplicable.

In any case we have one important historical result. These shaft-graves, dating as they do before the close of the 'plano-convex' period and being demonstrably not of the First Dynasty, prove that it was the Second and not the First Dynasty of Ur that was overthrown by Eannatum of Lagash. Of the Lagash domination the excavations have produced evidence enough, but there have been no names on the Ur side to correlate its rulers with those of Lagash, and it was open to suggest that Eannatum destroyed the First Dynasty and that the shadowy Second Dynasty must be interpolated between the earlier dynasty of Eannatum and the rule of the later *patesis* Ur-Bau and Gudea; that is now shown to be impossible. It is satisfactory that the conclusion so enforced does in a measure support the evidence of the King-lists.

Description of PG/1848 (fig. 1).

The shaft measured 15.30 m. \times 7.50 m. and was fairly rectangular; the angles were oriented to the points of the compass with tolerable accuracy. The top of the shaft was first discernible at a depth of 0.40 m. below the foundation offset of the Bur-Sin mausoleum; the bottom lay at 6.50 m. below that level. The sides of the shaft sloped slightly in from the vertical and were for the most part simply cut in the soil; in places, where the mixed rubbish gave a bad face, they were smoothed with mud plaster.

The S.E. wall was preserved to a greater height than the N.W., where denudation had been more serious. Inside the shaft there was a top filling of rubbish containing a great deal of broken pottery, which at the S.E. was 1.40 m. thick and sloped slightly so that at the N.W. it had a thickness of 2.10 m. The pottery was not of a very decisive nature, but contained examples which would seem to be more characteristic of the Third Dynasty of Ur than of the Sargonid age, and the impression recorded at the time of digging was that there had been disturbance here, and that the filling was of later date than the shaft itself.

At a depth of 1.40 m. the mixed filling gave place to one of broken mud brick, a packing which extended for 4.00 m. from the S.E. side and then broke away, and the mixed filling continued, as already said, to a lower level. Below the unbroken mud-brick packing was a wall of mud brick 0.40 m. high and 1.95 m. long; it ran at right angles to the S.E. side and the plastered face of the latter corresponding to a branch wall made a niche, in which was a brick altar 0.10 m. high, standing on a plastered floor of mud brick 0.30 m. thick. Below this a stratum 0.70 m. thick of mixed rubbish was succeeded by more packing of mud bricks; these, like those of the construction above, were rectangular and measured $0.26 \times 0.16 \times 0.085$ m. This packing extended unbroken over the whole area of the shaft, and on the surface of it, close to the N.W. side, there was found a grey steatite circular stamp seal with a figure of a buffalo and inscription of the Mohenjo-Daro type (U. 17649; pl. LXII, 2). It was difficult to say whether the seal belonged to the floor on which it lay or to the mixed filling which here came right down to that floor level. A shell cylinder seal (U. 17650) and two circular inscribed tablets (U. 17653) were found close to it but more in the rubbish stratum and did not help to date it.

On the brick floor, in the S.E. half of the shaft, there was a second walled niche and altar lying almost under the first but further out into the shaft and oriented at right angles to it; one of the walls of the lower niche had been carried up so that its upper part could be incorporated in the higher niche; this would be evidence that the process of filling in the shaft with successive strata was continuous and done to a definite scheme. In the floor there were several shallow holes, either cut simply into the packing or lined with bricks set on edge, which contained wood ashes and had clearly been fireplaces.¹ From the niche there extended along the S.E. side of the shaft a sort of *mastaba* or bench of brick 2.20 m. long and set back 1.60 m. from the niche front. On the other side of the niche its S.W. wall had been widened by a bench, 0.85 m. wide, of earth carefully plastered, standing 0.30 m. high and running back to the side of the shaft.

The brick floor was 1.00 m. thick; below it was a smooth clay floor in which there were fireplaces irregularly placed; one of these was a quite elaborate structure with a bitumen-lined hollow under which was a sort of vent filled with ashes.

Immediately below the clay floor there were encountered the tops of walls of mud brick forming a rectangular enclosure;

¹ For this cf. the Royal tomb shaft PG/1054; *Antiq. Journ.* ix, pl. xxvi.

these walls actually went down for 0.80 m., but half their height was hidden, and the enclosure was surrounded by a floor lying 0.40 m. below the clay floor with the fireplaces. In the enclosure there were found small animal bones, grain and ashes, and an (early) lapis lazuli cylinder seal (U. 17656): all probably

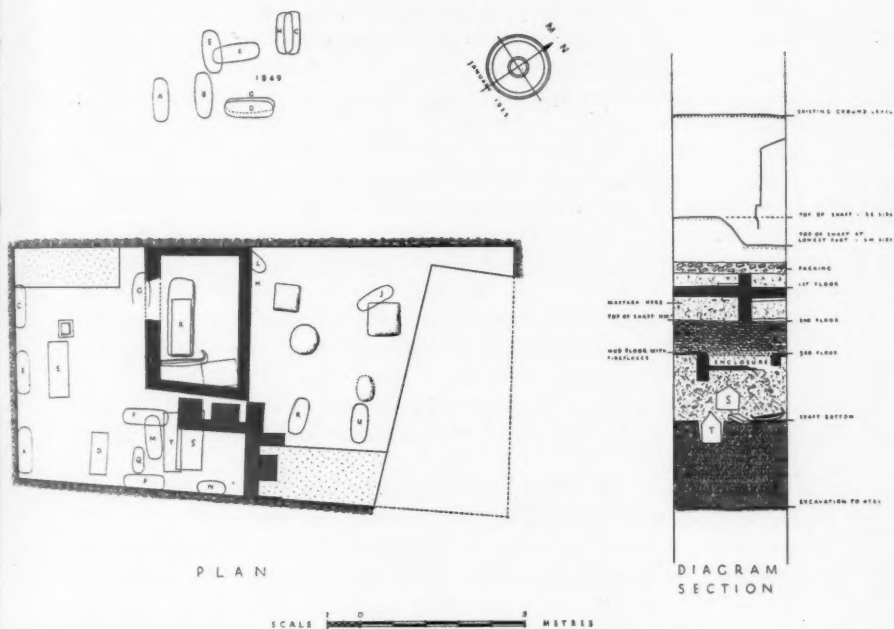


FIG. I. PG/1848

were remains of some sacrifice; in the floor outside the enclosure there were again fireplaces. The enclosure walls were of plano-convex mud bricks; on the N.W. these were sloped and smoothly plastered with mud. In the west corner of the shaft at this level there was a sort of *mastaba* standing 0.40 m. above floor level (the walls went down 0.30 m. below the floor) filled with earth and mud-plastered.

All the burials in the pit lay below this last floor; the chief burial was beneath the enclosure, another important burial beneath the altar of the second floor, a third alongside this, and the rest scattered but for the most part in the S.W. part of the shaft's area. They were not all at the same level, but all must have been contemporary in that all lay above the pit's bottom

and below the floor with fireplaces which represents the first stage in the filling of the shaft. In no case was it possible to detect any pit cut from above; the bodies, in coffins or otherwise, seem to have been laid on the filling as this was put in, and therefore it can happen that one is set directly above another (F lay immediately over M).

Burial R. Below the enclosure there had been sunk in the bottom of the shaft a roughly rectangular pit large enough to contain a coffin; the pit was lined with matting. The coffin was of wood and measured 1.55×0.60 m.; it lay N.W. by S.E. In it was a body laid on its right side, the head N.W., the legs slightly flexed, the arms bent and the hands brought across the chest. Behind the legs were the remains of a large copper cauldron; a copper bowl lay in front of the thigh, and by the waist and knees were two examples of a clay vase-type familiar in the Sargonid period. Behind the head was a copper axe, welded not cast, also of late type. The personal ornaments were four bracelets, two of copper, one silver and one gold, on the head three gold frontlets, ovals of sheet metal, a twisted gold hair-ribbon, two gold hair-rings. Round the neck were two necklaces, one of very small gold and carnelian beads, one of large gold ball beads and very large beads of carnelian, agate and marble (U. 17813).

In the grave but outside the coffin had been set a number of objects; four of these were copper vessels, two of them large cauldrons, a vase and a shallow bowl, all in very bad condition; a copper trident with prongs 0.35 m. long, a copper dagger, and seven clay vessels.

At the foot of the grave was a second shallow depression in the bottom of the pit in which were a bitumen model boat 1.55 m. long and 0.35 m. wide in or by which were two clay pots, and a sort of table made of reeds overlaid with a coating of smooth clay 1.00×0.70 m. sq., by which was a (broken) clay pot (pl. LXI, 1).

To the S.E. of this grave and lying underneath the altar of the upper floor was a separate burial S. The coffin was of reeds over a wooden frame, and the impression of it in the soil was admirably preserved, so that not only the individual reeds could be distinguished but even the strings which secured them one to another and to the frame (pl. LXI, 2). It measured 1.75×0.70 m.; the sides were 0.55 m. high to which had to be added the height of the gable roof.

In the coffin the body lay on its right side, the head N.W., the legs slightly flexed. On the forehead were two gold frontlets;

close by was a twisted gold hair-ribbon, and near the right ear a gold ear-ring; round the neck a string of gold and carnelian diamond beads, a second string of small gold and carnelian ball beads, and a third of large gold balls and very large beads of carnelian, agate and steatite. Between the hands was a copper bowl, diameter 0.14 m., stuck to which was a gold finger-ring and a pair of gold ear-rings. By the hands was a copper knife, a wolf's tooth, and, by the pelvis, a single shell ball bead (U. 17816).

Parallel to grave S and partly underneath it was another reed coffin, burial T.

The body lay almost on its back, the head N.W. and turned over the right shoulder, the legs practically straight. On the head, four gold frontlets and a twisted gold hair-ribbon; near the head was a gold finger-ring and interlaced with it two gold ear-rings which evidently had not been worn but put as offerings into the grave. Round the neck was a string of small diamond beads in gold, carnelian and lapis lazuli, and a second string of small gold and carnelian ball beads, some fluted, and some large beads, the order disturbed, of carnelian, agate and lapis lazuli with gold balls. On each arm was a plain silver bracelet; by the shoulder a straight copper pin, by the hip a shell cylinder seal and a copper axe of the same type as that found in Burial R; a hemispherical copper bowl in front of the breast, and with it a copper vase, and two clay vases both of 'Sargonid' type, completed the grave furniture (U. 17815).

To judge by their position these were the three principal graves, and their contents were also the richest, but of the others, A, B, F, G, M, and P had gold frontlets and twisted hair-ribbons and small gold objects such as ear- or finger-rings and beads; burials C, D, J, K, L (a child's grave), N, Q (also a child's grave) and U were poor; the bodies were wrapped in matting or simply placed in a matting-lined depression.

Shaft Grave 1850

The shaft was rectangular, measuring 8.20 m. \times 4.60 m. and was first distinguished immediately under the Third Dynasty level; but as in the time of the Third Dynasty the ground sloped sharply up from the wall of the Dungi mausoleum towards the S.W., the 'level' estimated by the footings of that wall is not really reliable, and the top of the shaft was more probably from one to two metres under the surface. The wall of plano-convex mud bricks ran over the S.W. side of the shaft,

resting partly on its edge and partly on its filling; the burials against the S.W. face of the shaft were therefore underneath the foundations of the wall.¹ At 1.40 m. below the top of the shaft there was a layer of matting spread over the whole area.

There were four rich burials, 3, 8, 9 and 13 (see fig. 2), of which 9 and 13 appear to have been the most important, lying side by side and at the same depth, 2.50 m., below the top of the shaft in its east corner. In a walled enclosure to the N.E. of them were the skeletons of three goats, clearly the remains of a funerary sacrifice. Both of these two burials, and no. 3, were in coffins of reed matting over a wooden framework; no. 8 was only wrapped in mats.

Burial 9. The coffin measured 1.70 × 0.80 m. and lay N.E. by S.W.; the body was on its right side, the head S.W., the legs flexed. On the head were two frontlets of thin sheet gold and a gold ear-ring; a necklace of gold, carnelian and agate beads was round the neck, on each wrist one gold and one silver bracelet; by the hip was a cylinder seal of lapis lazuli and by the feet an object of thin silver plate now destroyed. By the shoulder lay a cast bronze axe of the 'old cemetery' type (pl. LXII, 1). Two copper bowls, a copper vase and a copper strainer, a copper cauldron and a copper 'marmite' with carinated rim were in the grave, together with seven clay vessels of which two haematite-washed and burnished pots were typically Sargonid. Outside the grave there was a copper trident 0.56 m. long, and a bitumen model boat; the last lay just above the grave, and was unusually large, measuring 1.30 m. in length with a width of 0.35 m.

Burial 13. The coffin lay N.E. by S.W.; the body was on its left side, the head S.W., the legs slightly flexed. On the head were two frontlets of thin sheet gold, three twisted gold hair-ribbons, a pair of gold hair-rings, and round the neck two necklaces, respectively of gold and carnelian diamonds and of larger beads of agate, carnelian and gold. On each wrist were two silver bracelets and on a finger of the right hand a gold spiral finger-ring. By the waist were two small bowls, one of silver and one of copper; by the feet a spouted 'marmite' of copper containing four more copper vessels, a bowl, a tumbler and two pots; at the foot of the grave, outside the coffin, were two clay vessels.

Burial 3 was in a coffin unusually well preserved, so much so that a model of the framework could be made to scale during the process of excavation. The body lay on its left side with the

¹ The depth below the modern surface was 6.00 m.

head N.W. and the legs flexed. With it were a gold frontlet and ear-rings, a necklace of gold and carnelian beads, a cylinder seal, two copper bracelets, a copper bowl and bucket and three clay vessels. Underneath the coffin, between two layers of matting, were two copper spear-heads and two copper discs, which may be butt-ends of spears, two copper bracelets, a copper saucer, and a number of translucent calcite beads and a clay pot with burnished haematite wash surface.

Burial 8. The body was wrapped in matting ; it had a gold frontlet and three twisted gold hair-ribbons, two gold hair-rings

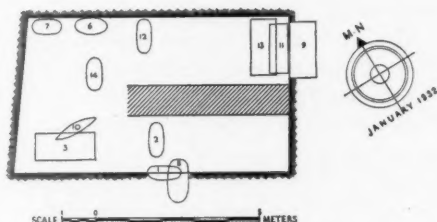


FIG. 2. PG/1850

and two ear-rings, two necklaces with gold and stone beads, a finger-ring of spiral silver wire and four silver bracelets, a silver pin, straight, over the left breast, a copper spear and bowl, a copper saucer, a shell cylinder seal. *Burial 14* was also in matting and had a twisted gold hair-ribbon, one pair of gold and one of silver hair-rings, two necklaces, one with gold beads, two copper bracelets and a copper bowl. Nos. 1, 4, and 5 were only groups of clay pots with no bodies ; the other burials were poor.

The Ziggurat (pl. LXIII)

In the season 1923-4 the top of the Ziggurat was cleared of rubble, the plans were drawn out by Mr. Newton, and a suggested restoration of the building as it was after the restoration by Nabonidus in the sixth century was published in *Antiq. Journ.*, v, p. 9, fig. 1. I was at the time in agreement with most of the details of that restoration, but since then a good deal has happened. In the first place we have learnt more than we then knew about the brickwork of the various periods ; and I began to be doubtful about certain points in our original scheme. Dr. W. Andrae, Director of the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Berlin Museum, who visited Ur in 1926, suggested to

me that the bricked-up recesses in the top stage of the tower might be 'keys' for securing a case-wall to the core, quoting analogies from the excavations at Babylon. At first I was not convinced, but as I had always felt that our only explanation of these recesses was unsatisfactory I grew gradually more inclined towards his view. A further difficulty was that our original reconstruction made the Ziggurat not very much higher than the existing ruin; it seemed doubtful whether the dilapidation of such a building to its present dimensions would account for the mass of debris which we had cleared from against its walls. This winter Mr. Rose put the matter to the test by calculating the extent of that dilapidation and the cubic contents of the debris. The problem was not simple, for allowance had to be made for wind action both in heaping up sand against the building and in denuding the ruins and the rubbish-heaps, and also for the contribution made to the rubbish-heaps by the Neo-Babylonian buildings erected either against or close to the walls of the tower on each of its four sides, buildings of which very little survives as a basis for calculation. Naturally nothing like accuracy could be achieved, but on the most conservative estimate it became clear that for the tower to be buried as it was, at least four metres and probably a good deal more would have to be added to its height as given by the restoration published in 1925. But an addition to the height of the Ziggurat involved a radical change in its plan also, for the upper staircases suggested in Mr. Newton's drawing could not be carried higher without reducing the area on the top stage available for the site of the temple to impossibly small limits or to nothing. Moreover if Dr. Andrae's suggestion were correct the top stage would have to be remodelled altogether. The whole question of the Ziggurat had to be taken up a second time.

Further, in 1923-4 we were concerned only with the latest phase of the building. Great care therefore had been taken not to destroy any of the existing brickwork, which was for the most part the brickwork of Nabonidus, and no attempt had been made to probe into this and see whether anything of the superstructure of the earlier Ziggurat survived at a lower level. In view of our general programme of tracing as fully as possible the history of the Ziggurat site, the time had come to try for further light on the Ziggurat as built by Ur-Engur, even at the cost of damage to the existing monument.

Only a small number of men were employed on the top of the tower, and the later brickwork was cut away only where results essential to the working out of the Third Dynasty plan could

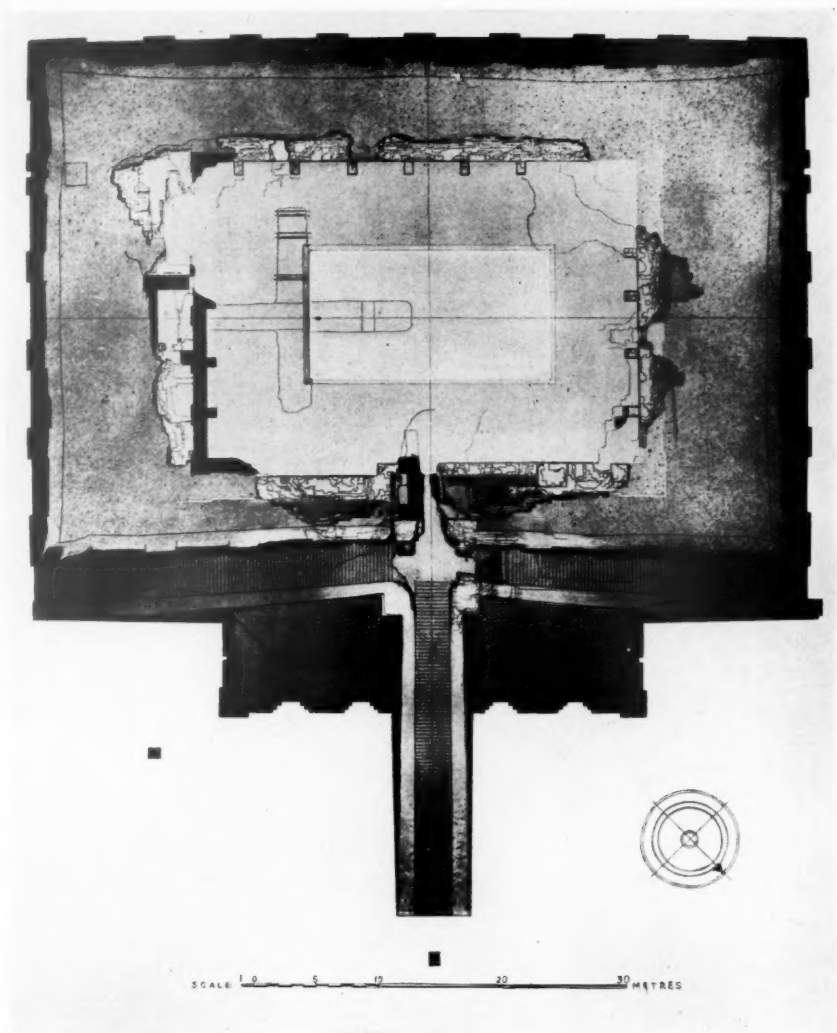
reasonably be expected; at the end of the season all the trenches so made were filled in again both to protect the older remains and to restore the ruin to its normal appearance. A very full photographic record was made of all the Third Dynasty work found, and Mr. Rose's plans and sections record every individual burnt brick of that work. It will be some time before all our data can be assembled and assessed, and reconstructed drawings made of the two Ziggurats; but the data are surprisingly full, and about the Third Dynasty building in particular we learnt very much more than we had ventured to hope.

At either end of the Ziggurat and along its N.E. side there were found *in situ* remains of the burnt brick paving of the first terrace, giving therefore the exact height of the lowest stage of the building. On the N.E. side, where the three great stairways meet, the original Third Dynasty treads were found, much damaged but recognizable, 2.0 m. under those of the Nabonidus reconstruction. The landing on which they converged was the floor of a square brick gate-tower with (arched?) doorways on all four sides, three of these serving the lower stairways, the back (S.W.) door giving on to an upper flight which ran straight up to the second terrace. Mr. Taylor, in the course of his excavations in 1854, which produced the famous cylinders and led to the identification of the site of Ur, drove a wide trench from the stair landing into the heart of the Ziggurat, cutting right through the upper flight of steps, no easy task, in that they were formed of a solid mass of burnt bricks set in bitumen mortar. Fortunately his trench was not quite central, and one side of the brick mass survived. Its top, with all the treads, had been shaved off flat by Nabonidus's workmen in order the better to lay their own bricks, but the foundations were stepped up apparently *pari passu* with the treads, and so may give us the original inclination of the flight and the height and depth of the individual treads. The stair massif ends against the face of the second stage.

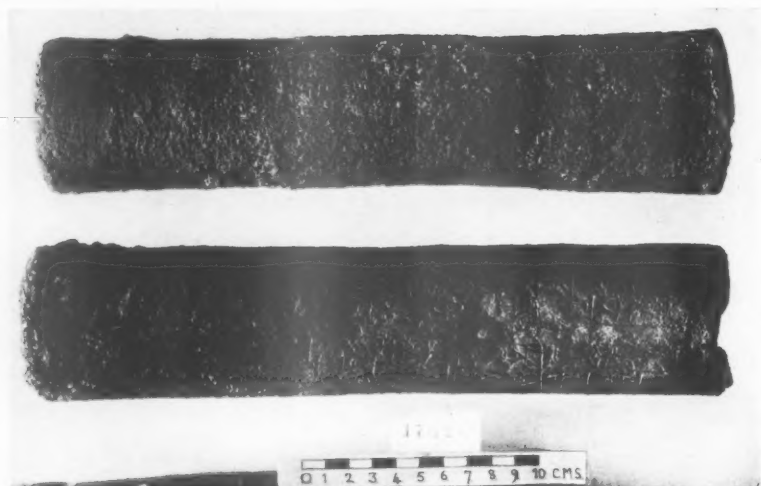
The containing-wall of the second stage was laid bare along the S.E. end, both corners being exposed, and was traced at points along the N.E. side, at stair-head, and on the N.W. end. It was of burnt brick, built with a slight batter, like the walls of the lowest stage, and like them relieved with shallow buttresses; it was standing to a height of 1.35 m. Behind the wall was a filling of mud bricks of normal Third Dynasty (Ur-Engur) dimensions, 0.23 x 0.15 x 0.07 m. The wall and the filling presented a perfectly level surface over which lay a layer of reeds, bitumen and matting, and then the unmistakable mud bricks of

the Neo-Babylonian restorer. It was clear that the original terrace had been cut down, and the brickwork levelled as a foundation for the new work. From the S.E. front of the terrace a cutting was made following this level towards the centre of the building; and at a distance of 9.0 m. from the front a fresh mass of Third Dynasty mud brickwork was encountered: it had the usual slight batter, rose to a height of 3.0 m., and had a width of 11.3 m.; we exposed the entire side and the east and south corners. From the description so far given it would naturally be supposed that we had found Ur-Engur's third stage; but the facts were not so easily or so satisfactorily explained. There was here a solid mass of mud brick rising well above the actual level of the second terrace. Below the point of junction there was no distinction between the two constructions, the lines of brick running straight through from one to the other with no break of bond. The slope of the wall-face certainly was consistent with its being a true terrace front, but it must be remembered that in each stage the brickwork throughout the mass presents the same feature, the courses being laid parallel with the sloped face of the burnt-brick casing. The face of the brickwork had been rather roughly coated with mud plaster, which again gave it the appearance of an exterior wall, but behind this plaster the bricks were laid in the fashion usually employed by Ur-Engur for filling, i.e., two courses of horizontal bricks alternating with four courses of bricks set slantwise on edge in a herring-bone pattern; moreover of the four courses two will have the edges of the bricks exposed, but in two the bricks will be at right angles to the rest, so that their flat sides show on the wall face and their purchase in the brick mass is reduced to minimum.¹ Such a system, though good enough for filling, is out of the question for a wall face where the wall is to retain so formidable a mass as that of the Ziggurat; as it is, the bricks set with their flat faces to the wall front are being pushed out and tend to fall away. It is quite impossible that Ur-Engur's third stage should have been built of mud bricks thus laid and should have lasted until the time of Nabonidus. Yet, in spite of the irregularities of the wall face due to the bulging of the bricks, that face shows no sign of weathering; the plaster has only a single thickness (it has never been repaired) but is intact; and there is no trace of any later casing to preserve the Third Dynasty brickwork.

¹ The core of the second stage is thus constructed; the same is true of the Eanna Ziggurat of Ur-Engur at Warka, where the burnt-brick facing has disappeared and only the mud-brick core survives.



The Third Dynasty remains in the Ziggurat



1. Copper foundation-cylinders of Nur-Adad



2. Copper foundation-cylinders of Nur-Adad in position in their brick box

Our work on the Ziggurat has not yet gone so far that I can guarantee an explanation of the seemingly conflicting facts, but I am fairly sure that what we found here was a core from which the facing of burnt brick has been removed. But the value of the discovery remains, for it is tolerably certain that there has been no cutting back of the core (I found by practical experiment that it was impossible to cut back into the standing brickwork and produce so regular a face as this) and that only the burnt brick has been taken away. It is possible that the mud plaster was then applied to disguise the roughness of the core, for piety's sake, during the interval before the new brickwork of the restorers rose up to conceal it, but it may also be an original plaster laid over the core before the burnt brick case was added;¹ in either case we have only to add the normal thickness of a casing wall to get the true ground-plan of Ur-Engur's third terrace.

Of the Third Dynasty Ziggurat, therefore, we have the lowest stage preserved up to its full height, a second stage whose original height can be calculated from the stairway giving access to it, and the outlines of the third stage. Also we have the details of the three great staircases leading up to the first stage together with the ground-plan of the landing gate-tower and the details, including the parapet walls, of the upper flight. Further, on the first terrace, at the S.E. end, we have the walls and doorway of a chamber built up against the middle of the wall of the second stage. This is a quite unexpected feature in a Ziggurat, and we cannot explain its purpose, but it is part of the original building of Ur-Engur, and that it was an essential part is shown by the fact that it has several times been repaired by later rulers: the floor has been made good at least twice, and under the pavement-bricks of one restoration we found quantities of miniature moon-crescents, boats etc., of copper, witness to the sanctity of the chamber.

In several places additions and modifications of the original design prove that the Ziggurat received more attention from later kings than our records hitherto had led us to suppose,² and add to our knowledge of its history; but there is no serious change until Nabonidus undertook his great work of reconstruction. Again, we have not yet had time to work over our material and assess its results, but it is clear that the sixth-century Ziggurat was very different from that of the twenty-third century;

¹ In the Neo-Babylonian work of the top stage we find plaster on the mud brickwork behind the burnt brick.

² It was the failure to identify some of these that accounted for mistakes in our first attempt at restoration.

it was much higher, much more bulky, and above the first terrace, which remained unchanged, it bore no relation to its predecessor. Having been exposed for so long to the elements it is not nearly so well preserved as the Third Dynasty construction buried in its core, but the evidence it has yielded should allow of a reconstruction plausible and in the main demonstrably correct.

The Ziggurat Terrace

(A) THE LATER BUILDINGS

The terrace at the foot of the Ziggurat had been cleared in the season 1924-5 down to the level of the Third Dynasty, which at that time was the limit set to our researches. The remains of walls of that period, as well as those of later date overlying them, had been respected (for plans see *Antiq. Journ.*, v, figs. 1 a, b, pp. 352-3), but had since suffered so much from the weather as to retain little interest. The results of a deep cut made in 1930-1 near the north corner of the Ziggurat, where walls much earlier than the Third Dynasty had been brought to light, justified the removal of the insignificant ruins of the classical period in order to obtain evidence for the earlier stages in the history of the Ziggurat site. Already work done in 1926-7 along the S.W. side of the Ziggurat had shown that the late constructions there, down to and including the Temenos wall of Nebuchadnezzar, were founded on and virtually reproduced the Third Dynasty girdle wall, and that this in its turn was but a reconstruction following on the lines of more ancient work, some of it built with plano-convex bricks and presumably belonging to the First Dynasty. The remains on the N.E. side, near the north corner, clearly ought to be examined more thoroughly, but here the area was limited on the one side by the central flight of the Ziggurat stairs and on another by the sunken 'Nannar' court to the N.E. The N.W. side therefore, where the classical buildings already excavated might well have had forerunners of the same type, was the most extensive and the most promising field for further work.

Our excavations last winter covered the whole area between the N.W. face of the Ziggurat and the Temenos wall of Nebuchadnezzar and passed round the north corner to join up with the trench cut in the previous season. They dealt primarily with the range of chambers which ran along the edge of Ur-Engur's terrace and then turned at right angles to enclose a court of which the Ziggurat itself formed the third side, with the Nannar sanctuary of Neo-Babylonian times built in the

corner between the central and N.W. flights of stairs. In the course of the preliminary work of destruction certain additions were made to our knowledge of the historical periods.

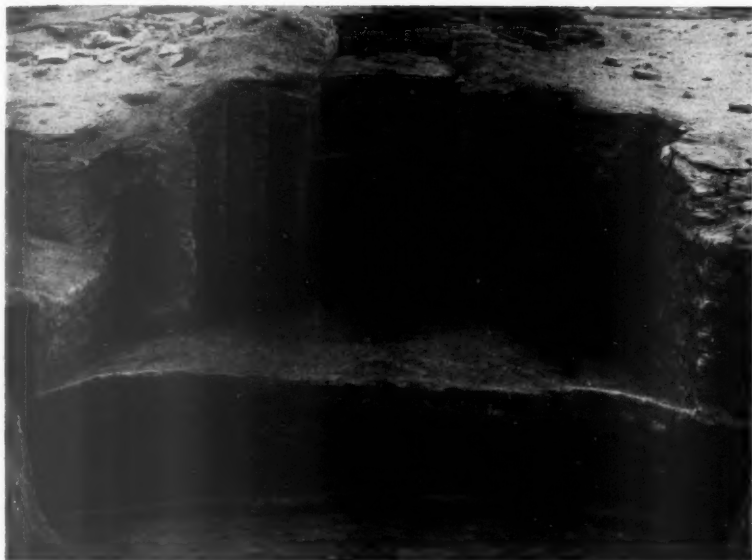
Under the Neo-Babylonian Nannar sanctuary no corresponding building of earlier date was found. That the site was unoccupied under the Third Dynasty does not necessarily follow, because there had been a drastic levelling here to make room for the new building, whose foundations went down almost as deep as any of the Third Dynasty, and if there had been anything here it would have left no trace of itself.

On the N.W. side two gate-socket stones of Ur-Engur, found in position, confirmed the existence of two doors conjecturally marked in our earlier plan. A more important discovery was made when the Third Dynasty walls were being removed. Of these walls there seldom survived more than the mud-brick foundations. The burnt-brick superstructure had disappeared, and what burnt brick there was belonged to a later reconstruction the walls of which rested on the stumps of the old. The later work had been published by us as being of Larsa date, an attribution based on the character of the bricks, but its authorship was left in doubt; stamped bricks of several Isin and Larsa rulers had indeed been found loose on the site, but none was in position. Now in the mud brickwork underlying the walls of a large room N.E. of the court there came to light two foundation-boxes of burnt brick each containing two copper cylinders inscribed with the name of Nur-Adad of Larsa, c. 1970 B.C. (pl. LXIV). As foundation-deposits these copper cylinders, 0.275-0.33 m. long and 0.065 m. in diameter, are unique; they are of solid metal, completely covered with inscriptions. The discovery, however welcome, was disconcerting at first, for the cylinders and (as shown by their measurements) the bricks of the boxes which contained them were of Larsa date, whereas the wall in which were the boxes could on the strength of the measurements of its bricks be assigned only to the Third Dynasty. A closer examination showed that a square hole had been cut from above into the mud brickwork and the burnt bricks of Larsa type laid round its sides; so far from the anachronism of the inscriptions upsetting our previous conclusions the paring of the mud bricks—one of which was reduced to a width of scarcely a centimetre—proved them correct. On three of the cylinders the texts are duplicates of each other and of clay cones published in *Ur Royal Inscriptions*, nos. 112, 124, which are now seen to belong together: the cones came from the same building. The object of the dedication is

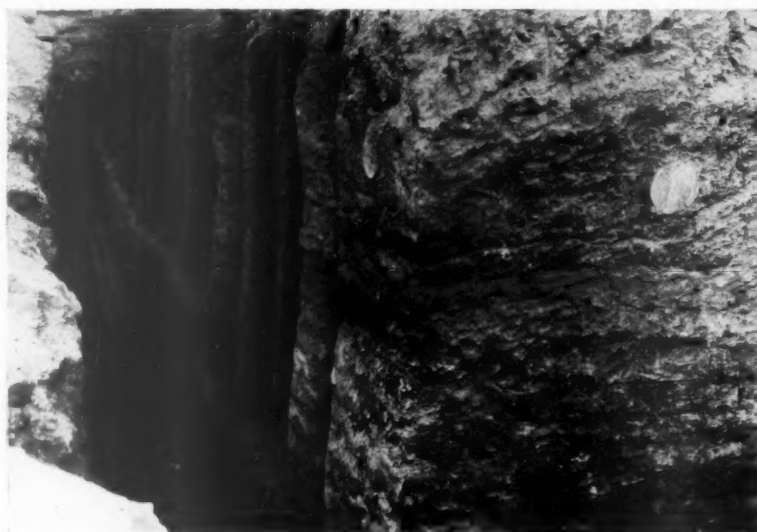
a great 'cooking-pot' or oven for preparing the food of Nannar and of all the gods worshipped in the temple, i.e. on the Zigurat platform. This is of peculiar interest in view of the discovery that two chambers of the First Dynasty building, of which this building of Nur-Adad is a late edition, were entirely taken up by great ovens or fireplaces which we had, before the cylinders were read, recognized to be of a ritual character (v. p. 379).

Another new discovery lay further afield, but as it concerns the plan of the Larsa buildings published in *Antiq. Journ.*, v, p. 353, and fig. 1 (b), it were best described here. In 1924-5 we found that the mud-brick terrace wall of Ur-Engur had been refaced with a *kisu* or revetment in burnt brick which again we attributed to a Larsa king; projecting from this was a fort with sally-port which in its present condition was the work of Kuri-Galzu (c. 1400 B.C.) but, as proved by inscribed cones found in position, had first been built by Warad-Sin of Larsa; the burnt-brick facing contained bricks with the Kuri-Galzu stamp, the mud-brick core we assigned to Warad-Sin. We have now found, what we did not suspect before, that the original Larsa front of the building is extremely well preserved, masked by the Kassite revetment, and is in itself most remarkable (pls. LXV, LXVI, 1 and 2).

The salient, constructed in mud brick, is bonded into the burnt brickwork of the terrace revetment, which must therefore have the same authorship. A re-entrant angle in the S.W. side has the N.W. face decorated with two double-recessed niches of normal type, but the whole length of the main N.W. front is made up of a series of large attached half-columns with double recessed niches down their centres; this type of wall, copied later by Kuri-Galzu, now makes its first known appearance in Larsa times. The decorated façade rests on a heavy foundation stepped out in a succession of narrow offsets all of which, probably, were below ground level, so that the widening of the foundation is constructional and not ornamental; two or three straight courses at the top alone seem to have been exposed, and afforded the necessary base for the half-columns. In the centre the frontage line was set back for a doorway flanked by two sets of broad reveals, and in the angles between these and the side walls were mud-brick columns in the round. The columns were of moulded bricks, segmental in shape and with the outer face not only rounded to the curve of the shaft but with a further boss in relief such that each set of three bricks (two in the lower and one in the upper course) bore a triangle in low relief; this decoration made of the column



1. Warad-Sin's fort; the gateway recess with free columns



2. Warad-Sin's fort; the E. corner showing decorated wall face and two dedication-cones in position



2. The oldest Ziggurat terraces: A, the revetment added to B, the oldest terrace wall found; C, the courtyard wall of 'Archaic II'; D, face of upper terrace, 'Archaic II B'



1. 'Archaic I': the stone foundations of the First Dynasty terrace wall

a very close imitation of a date-palm trunk, the original from which in Mesopotamia the architectural column was inevitably derived. The columns were slender, with a diameter of only 0.70 m., and could scarcely have attained any very great height; presumably to counteract the weakness inherent in their girth and material they were tied at intervals into the side walls of the entry by courses of bricks running through. The wall was continued across the doorway, what looked at first sight like a blocking of the passage proving to be bonded in to the jambs, and this original barrier rose to a height of 1.60 m., virtually that of the interior passage-way in Kuri-Galzu's reconstructed fort. It would appear that the Larsa doorway also was at a high level and was reached by some kind of wooden steps normally placed in the door recess but removed in times of danger, and so serving the same purpose as the drawbridge of medieval times. At the west corner of the façade, where a plain buttress framed the decorated wall length, we found definite proof of the authorship of the whole building, and with it of the terrace revetment. On either face of the buttress at a height of 1.85 m. above foundation level there was built into the wall an inscribed clay cone of Warad-Sin (*v. Ur Inscr.* 131): the stem was embedded in the brickwork, the flat inscribed base was flush with the plaster on the wall face, which had been carefully trimmed so as to leave the clay disc exposed. This discovery of the cones in position made it evident that those found in 1924 (*v. Antiq. Journ.*, v, p. 356) and then described as being in the mud-brick core behind the burnt-brick face, were really in the face of the mud-brick wall which the later burnt-brickwork merely masked.

Apart from the topographical interest of this, the most ornate example of Larsa building yet encountered, the fact of its including free columns is of much importance. The common employment of the column in very early Sumerian architecture is now firmly established; we have a good instance of it in the Third Dynasty (*Antiq. Journ.*, x, pl. xxxvi, b), and now it recurs under the Larsa kings, while Haines, though his account was discredited, claimed to have found a columnar hall of Kassite date at Nippur. At no period therefore in Mesopotamian history can the possibility of the use of the column be discounted.

(B) THE EARLY BUILDINGS

Below the level of the Third Dynasty buildings which occupied the area between the N.W. face of the Ziggurat and the terrace wall of Ur-Engur, there was found a not very dissimilar

range belonging to the period of the First Dynasty of Ur. A very heavy mud-brick wall running along the S.W. side of the Ziggurat returned along the N.W. side so as to enclose a courtyard between itself and the tower; in the north corner of the court was a building protected by the wall which on this side had a thickness of 11.0 m. The north corner of the wall had been destroyed, but it seems to have returned and continued in front of the N.E. face of the Ziggurat as a compartment wall enclosing two, or more probably three, ranges of long and narrow magazine chambers. The outer wall (v. the plan, pl. LXVIII) rested on, and on the outside was carried down so as to mask the face of, an earlier wall which will be described later. It served as retaining-wall to a terrace whose floor level was 3.60 m. above that of the ground outside to the N.W.; the exterior face was relieved by a succession of long shallow buttresses which seem in their turn to have been relieved each by two small shallow projections; the upper part of the wall face was of mud brick, the foundation or the lower part of the wall proper (it is difficult to say exactly how much was exposed) was of large boulders and quarry-shaped blocks of coarse white limestone (pl. LXVII, 1). The core of this unusual construction was the older wall; against the face of that a revetment of mud bricks had been added and brought to a fairly true face up to the height to which the stones were intended to stand; then the stonework, only one course thick, had been added, with mud mortar to fill the joints, and the mud brick of the upper section of the wall brought forward over the stones; the latter were largely if not wholly hidden by a plaster of stiff clay. The stonework does not seem to have served any very useful constructional purpose, for it is not sufficiently bonded into the brick behind to be a source of strength, and as a 'dry-course' it does not safeguard the inside of the wall; it is however fully in the tradition of the buildings of 'Archaic Level V' at Warka¹ and of the First Dynasty temple at al 'Ubaid. Only a short length of the stone-work remains, giving the main wall line; the projecting buttresses have been cut away even at the N.E. end, and further to the S.W. the whole face of the wall has gone. This is due to Ur-Engur's workmen, who cut back the wall for the construction of his terrace front, the back of which coincides with the frontage of the older work. Towards the N.E. end Ur-Engur's wall, which is here in its turn cut away by the builders of Warad-Sin's fort, seems to have made

¹ v. Jordan, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1930, iv, p. 49.

a salient corresponding on a smaller scale to that of Larsa date, with the result that the Third Dynasty builders, working out further afield, left the First Dynasty wall untouched at this point and only shaved off the projections which interfered with their ground plan. So damaged is the First Dynasty wall that our restoration of its buttressed face is necessarily rather conjectural, but the existing evidence and analogy with what went before as well as what came after should make it accurate in the main.

On the N.E. front the building had suffered complete destruction. Behind the back wall of the great Court of Nannar as reconstructed by Warad-Sin, a deep trench had been dug (subsequently filled in with rubbish in which were many Larsa bricks) which had cut off all the walls to below foundation level. Here then our plan shows a reconstruction simply based on the older building, 'Archaic II', which everywhere else does serve as a prototype for the First Dynasty construction; its extent however and the existence of a third range of chambers must remain conjectural.

The building in the north corner of the courtyard enclosed by the First Dynasty terrace wall was, to judge by its ground plan, in the nature of a house rather than a temple. A door in the wall facing the courtyard led through an entrance-chamber into a central court off which opened four other rooms one of which led to a fifth room having a very small square compartment at its far end. The passage from the outside into the inner court was carefully paved with bitumen, the surface cambered and then carried up to the wall face in a skirting effected by bricks being set along the edge by the wall, coated with clay, and the bitumen laid over them. The traffic was so considerable that the flooring had had to be relaid at least twice. In the north corner of the inner court there was a basin of burnt bricks and bitumen, the sides rising above floor level, the base sunk some 0.30 m. below it, in which were found small clay pots; it was presumably a place of offering, for it was partly overlaid by a bed of ashes witnessing to constant fires. The two chambers on the N.E. of the central court were occupied one by a circular and one by a square enclosure containing lime and ashes; they were too large to be ordinary ovens and fireplaces, and may have some ritual significance (*v. supra*, p. 376).

The burnt bricks, of which the basin in the court and a somewhat similar construction in another room were built, were plano-convex bricks of the al 'Ubaid type, measuring

0.20 m. \times 0.16 m. Other burnt bricks measured 0.25–0.24 m. \times 0.18–0.16 m., max. thickness 0.08–0.07 m.: some had a single 'finger' impression, some a long narrow frog.

The mud bricks of which the house walls and the great exterior wall were built were also plano-convex and measured 0.20 m. \times 0.14 m. with max. thickness 0.09 m., edges 0.055 m. The usual construction was for three courses laid herring-bone fashion to alternate with three courses laid flat.

The walls of the building were of poor quality, and at the N.E. end were very difficult to follow; the floors however, though only of mud, had a very solid bedding thirty centimetres and more thick composed of nodules of reddish clay; where the walls gave little evidence it was easy to follow the edges of the chamber floors and so secure the details of the plan. The outer wall was of much better quality and along the side of the main court was standing to a height of 1.75 m. Immediately below the floor of the courtyard and certainly placed there deliberately as an offering was a large clay jar containing a number of figures in white calcite illustrated on pl. LXX.

The objects were as follows:—

U. 17832. Statuette of a seated bull, l. 0.17 m., ht. 0.075 m. In the top of the back is a square hole to take an upright (? a socket for a figurine of a god?). The muzzle is damaged by decay. Pl. LXX, 3.

U. 17833. Statuette of a reclining dog (?), l. 0.065 m., ht. 0.035 m. It was originally painted red and the eyes filled in with black. A hole is pierced from the top of the back to the stomach; on the under side is an engraved design of animals, mostly cut with the drill, perished and scarcely distinguishable. Pl. LXX, 1.

U. 17834. Figurine of seated calf, the body in profile, the head turned outwards over the shoulder; l. 0.035 m., ht. 0.03 m.

U. 17835 A, B. Two lions' heads, silhouetted in profile; extreme diam. 0.045 m. and 0.05 m. Originally painted red, both pierced for suspension. They are really stamp seals, the lower surface being flat, with a design of animals roughly cut with the drill. Pl. LXX, 2.

U. 17836. Object of white calcite, bell-shaped with double pierced lobe; ht. 0.063 m., base diam. 0.052 m.

U. 17837. White calcite toilet-pot made of two small vases joined together; ht. 0.022 m., total l. 0.07 m.

U. 17838. White calcite vase, miniature, ht. 0.04 m., rim diam. 0.036 m.

U. 17839. Copper instrument, possibly a razor, l. 0.08 m.

U. 17840. Copper disc, possibly a mirror, diam. 0.135 m. To it is attached by corrosion a second example of the 'razor' type of tool like U. 17839.

U. 17841. Figurine of veined calcite in the form of a human being, very summarily treated, ht. 0.055 m.

U. 17842. Beads; a mixed lot of carnelian, lapis lazuli, glazed frit, agate, shell, quartzite, crystal, etc. Rings, balls, double conoids, barrels, faceted lentoids, tubular, etc., 745 in all.

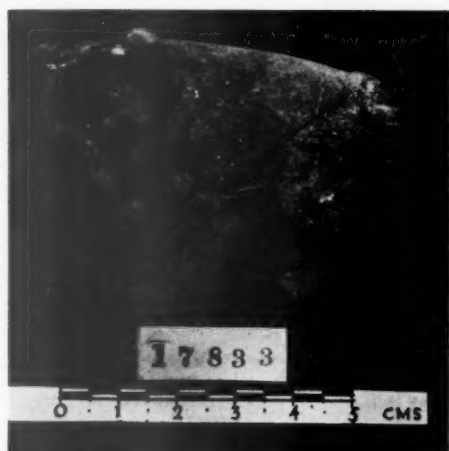
The walls of the First Dynasty building rested for the most part on the stouter walls of an earlier building (Archaic II; *v.* plan, pl. LXIX), which also was completely excavated in the course of the season. Here again there was a very heavy outer wall, 9.0 m. thick, enclosing a courtyard and a building in its north corner and returning along the N.E. face of the Ziggurat as a compartment-wall containing two ranges of magazine chambers. The outer wall on the N.E. side had been destroyed to make room for the S.W. boundary of the great Nannar Court, the foundations of which, thanks to the low level at which the court lay; went as deep as those of the predynastic structure, but as regards its character there could be little doubt. This compartment-wall and the solid wall on the N.W. served as retaining-walls for a platform raised about 2.0 m. above the ground-level beyond them; the N.W. wall had a series of shallow buttresses along its outer face, but the inner face was plain. The height of the platform inside it was clearly shown by the wall face, which had been plastered with mud above while the foundations below the floor were naturally left rough. The walls of the building in the north corner were standing to a maximum height of 4.50 m., but even so were no more than foundations rising scarcely to the floor level of the court. All the chambers had been filled in with a solid packing of mud brick intended as a foundation for the pavement which had disappeared; in consequence, there were no doorways, and the ground-plan was less illuminating than it would otherwise have been; no objects were found in the rooms. A later phase in the history of the building was denoted by a wall in the courtyard running parallel with the outer wall. Its front was sloped with the batter normal in a retaining-wall, and behind it was earth-packing overlaid by a floor of mud brick two courses thick. It formed a terrace or platform 1.20 m. high which had been built over the original floor perhaps as the base for an altar or small independent building; a passage was left between it and the outer wall, but was blocked at the N.E. end by mud brickwork abutting on the old enceinte.

All the walls, both those of the chambers and the containing-walls of the original building, were remarkable in that they were built with a mixture of plano-convex and square bricks.

The plano-convex bricks measured 0.20-0.19 m. \times 0.13 m. with a maximum thickness of 0.06 m., the square bricks were of different sizes, measuring respectively 0.37 m. \times 0.23 m. \times 0.11-0.10 m., 0.35-0.34 m. \times 0.23 m. \times 0.10 and 0.22-0.20 m. \times 0.13 m. \times 0.085 m. That all were strictly contemporary was shown by the fact that instead of the plano-convex bricks being above and the flat bricks below them, as would have been the case had the walls been of two periods, there were alternating courses of bricks of the different types (pl. LXXI, 1); the small plano-convex bricks were sometimes laid flat, more often herring-bone fashion; the square bricks were always flat-laid. It follows that the structure dates from the period of transition between Jemdet Nasr and the 'plano-convex' age, which we now know to have been of very long duration; it is hazardous to risk giving actual figures, but presumably our Archaic II belongs somewhere about 3600 B.C. It is curious that here, as in more or less contemporary buildings at Warka, fragments of al 'Ubaid pottery occur fairly plentifully in the mud of the bricks and very freely indeed in the mortar between them. This is true both of the walls and of the filling of the chambers, which consists of plano-convex bricks only, laid in courses with very little mortar.

The Archaic II building clearly served as a pattern for that of the First Dynasty, and this again was copied, at least in its main lines, by Ur-Engur and by later historic kings. The similarity of ground-plan must connote a similarity of purpose, and since the historic buildings are definitely the surroundings of the Ziggurat, we may fairly conclude that both in the First Dynasty and at the beginning of the 'plano-convex' period there was a Ziggurat corresponding to the buildings we have found and occupying the same site as that of Ur-Engur. Conditions are then the same at Ur as at Warka, where Ur-Engur's Ziggurat is built round and over the ruins of similar towers of earlier date which serve as its core. Although at Ur it would be inadvisable to confirm this by excavations which would undermine and involve damage to and perhaps the destruction of the finest monument of its kind existing in Iraq, confirmation is hardly necessary, and the fact of former ziggurats having existed can safely be assumed on the strength of the evidence now to hand.

That there were yet earlier ziggurats is at least probable. In the west corner of the courtyard of Archaic II and beneath the foundations of its containing-wall there was found a terrace front differently aligned and built of the small bricks called by the German excavators at Warka 'Riemchen': it had later been



1



2

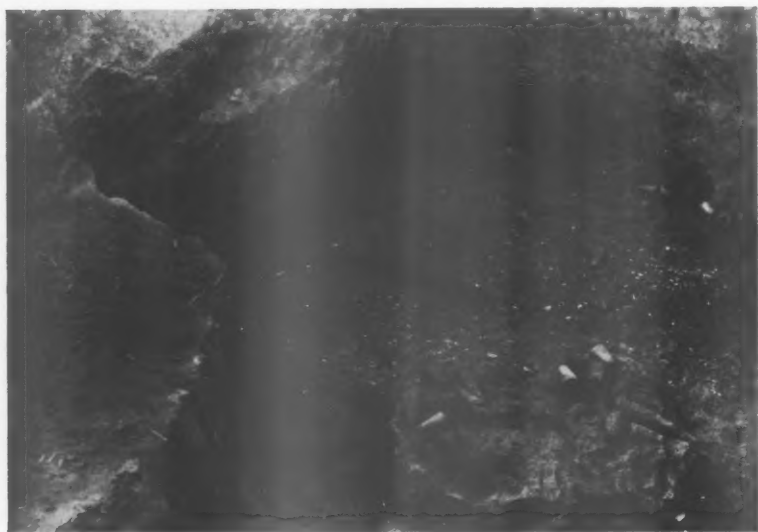


3

1-3. Calcite figures from the First Dynasty building

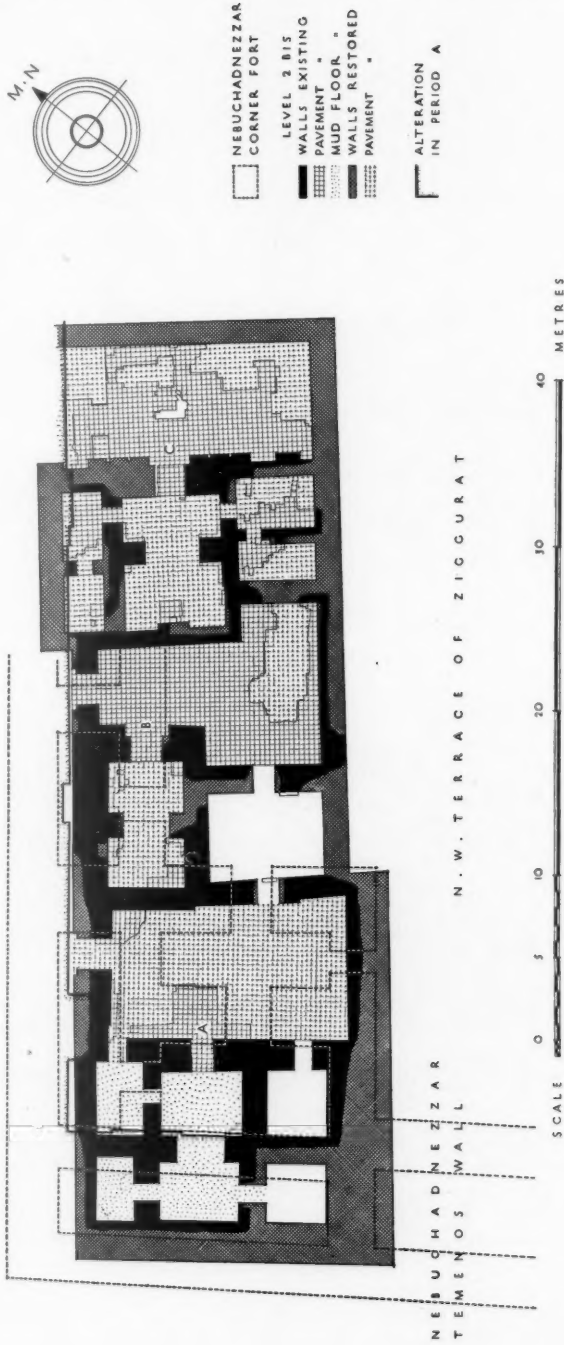


1. 'Archaics I and II': A, First Dynasty courtyard wall, inner face; B, inner face of earlier courtyard wall. The arrow points to mosaic cones lying below the foundations



2. Earliest floor levels of the Ziggurat terraces. A, the lowest floor of crushed lime with large cones lying in it; B, floor covered with small mosaic cones

N. C. F. AND X. N. C. F. SITES: LEVEL 2 B I S

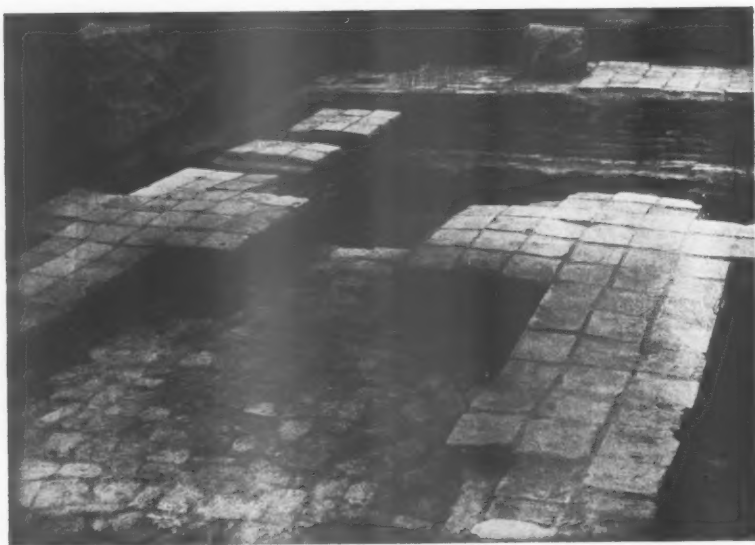


J. CHAIKINSKY, ROSE A. 18 A

1832



1. The Neo-Babylonian chapels (Site N C F): pavement of Level II



2. Site N C F. Pavement of Level II removed to outer walls and pavement of Level III

refaced or reinforced by the addition of a revetment built with mud bricks of the same type (measurements, 0.23 m. \times 0.10 m. \times 0.10 m.). Nor was this all. Excavations in the courtyard to the east of this early terrace edge produced a floor level of clay over which were thickly strewn clay cones from a mosaic wall-decoration. That they were older than our Archaic II was shown by the fact that the cone stratum ran under the foundations of the upper terrace wall (Archaic II b) and had been cut away by the foundations of the great containing-wall. The cones, coloured red and black and creamy white, were of two sizes, most being of the small slender sort measuring on an average 0.09-0.08 m. in length with a diameter of 0.015 m., while some were 0.13 m. long and had a diameter of 0.03 m. with a slight depression in the blunt end. These two types are found *in situ* in the same wall-face at Warka decorating a building which the excavators date as not later than the close of the fifth millennium B.C., a building which is constructed with mud 'Riemchen'. Here the cones may well be brought into relation with the later revetment of the transverse wall, and probably belonged to buildings standing on the terrace which that wall contained (pl. LXXI, 2).

At a depth of 0.30 to 0.65 m. below the clay floor on which the cones were lying, there was a second floor-level consisting of clay and crushed limestone on which lay more clay cones but of a different sort. They were of an average length of 0.18 m., 0.07 m. in diameter and deeply hollowed at the end so that when set in the wall face they would give the effect of a disc of black shadow surrounded by a ring of light clay colour. Such large cones have been found (not *in situ*) at Warka at levels below those in which the smaller cones occur, so that the dating evidence from the two sites agrees; they would seem to belong to a stage of development between the slender mosaic cone and the clay vases which similarly decorated the face of the primitive mud ziggurat of Eanna at Warka.¹ The stratum with the large cones is probably to be equated with the older transverse wall, and the cones must come from the earliest building yet known to us on the Ziggurat site; it is of course possible that, like the Warka vases, they were the decoration of the first Ziggurat itself.

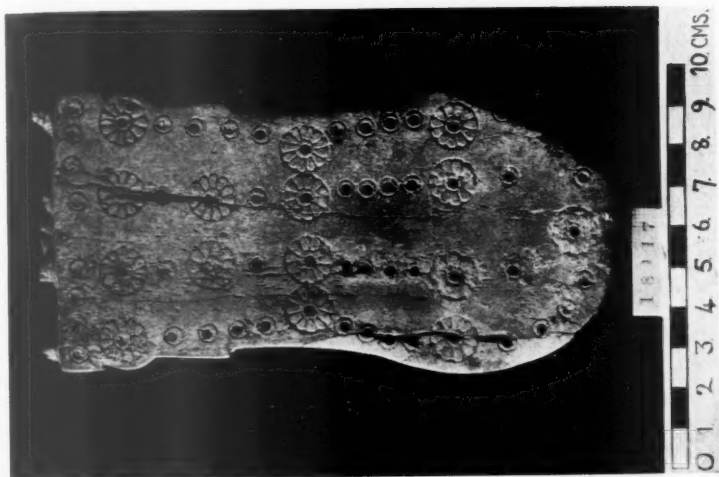
The investigation of the early surroundings of the Ziggurat led us somewhat further afield than had been at first intended. It

¹ I am aware that Dr. Jordan regards these vases as serving a constructional and not an ornamental purpose, but to me the intention of the original builders seems certainly to have been decoration.

was important to locate exactly the west corner of the enclosure, which at a late period was represented by a small fort forming a salient from the general line of Nebuchadnezzar's Temenos wall but lying for the most part inside it: it was difficult to explain why Nebuchadnezzar had chosen this particular line—well outside that of the Third Dynasty and Kassite terrace—unless there was some earlier structure whose site he wished to include in his Sacred Area. Accordingly, work was started inside the precincts of the Neo-Babylonian fort.

The S.W. chamber of the fort was found to be occupied by a large shallow pit lined with mats which had been used as a mixing-bowl for bitumen, probably that employed as mortar in the reconstruction of the Ziggurat by Nabonidus. Below this there came to light a building with paved floors the outer walls of which (on the N.W. and S.W.) lay immediately under those of the fort. The building (*v. plan*, pl. LXXII) was a small shrine opening on a courtyard to the N.E. of it, and the entrance to the court was from the N.W., i.e. from the side opposite to the Ziggurat; the shrine therefore, the floor of which was at a level rather lower than the top of the Ziggurat terrace, had no communication with it. As work progressed further to the N.E. it was found that this shrine was one of a number of which three were preserved to the extent that their ground-plans could be recovered in detail; all were more or less of the same pattern, showing a court to the N.E. on to which gave two-roomed sanctuaries, either simple or flanked by side chambers. Unfortunately there were no inscriptions to identify their authors or the deities to which they were consecrated. What was clear, however, was that shortly before Nebuchadnezzar's time there was a row of shrines occupying a lower platform of the Ziggurat. Some time after they had been built a heavy mud-brick wall had been erected along the edge of this lower platform, cutting off the approaches from that side and slightly curtailing the size of the buildings. To judge by the type of bricks employed, the wall might have been the work of the Assyrian governor Sinbalatsu-iqbi, and the shrines should in that case date from the eighth century B.C.

Further work proved that these buildings were but reconstructions of something older. The forerunners of the two chapels to the N.E. had been completely ruined; enough remained to show that they had existed, but not enough to give their character. The S.W. chapel, however, incorporated a great deal of the older building of which it was a simplified copy. In this underlying structure (*v. plan*, 'Level 2', fig. 3)



2. Steatite gaming-board



1. Granite stela of Ur-Nina, from a squeeze



the façade of the shrine facing the court was of burnt brick and was decorated with double niches; immediately in front of the doorway was a brick altar, and in the east corner of the court there was against the S.E. wall a double niche containing a raised base, and another altar in front of it. A door awkwardly contrived in the south corner gave access to a very narrow

N. C. F. S I T E L E V E L 2

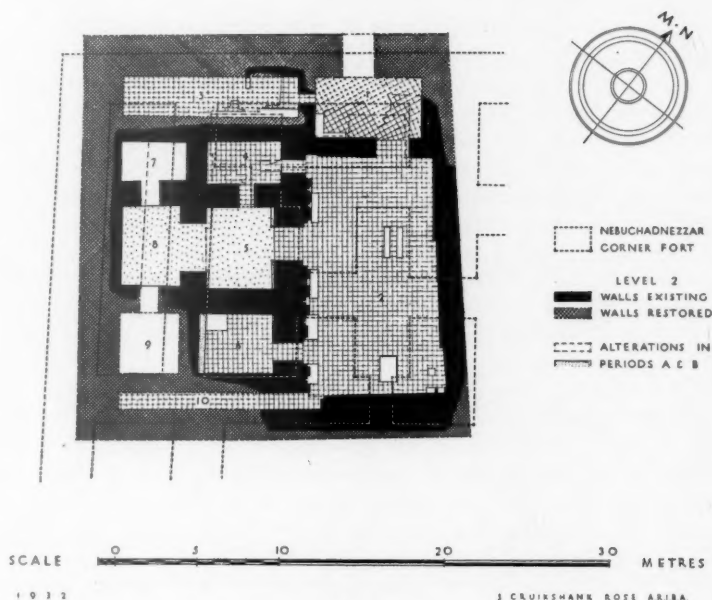


FIG. 3

passage which may have contained a staircase (the S.W. end where the stairs should have been was ruined away) and corresponding to this there was a long narrow chamber in the west corner of the building, entered from a forecourt whose walls had for the most part disappeared; the brick pavement served to define its limits, and a curved line of paving-bricks denoted the position of the outer door. Here again there were no inscriptions to identify the builder and establish the date of the building.

The irregularities in the pavement of the court clearly showed that there were more ruins to be discovered beneath it (pl. LXXIII, 1 and 2). They proved to be those of two small

two-chambered shrines set side by side (v. plan, 'Level 3', fig. 4), perhaps again belonging to a series of similar shrines, but of others no remains survived. These were oriented otherwise than the shrines of 'Level 2' and 'Level 2 B', the entrances being on the S.E. and opening on to a lane which ran along the foot of the upper terrace of the Ziggurat; the facing of burnt brick added to the terrace by Kuri-Galzu had fallen into ruin, and much of the brickwork had been carried off as building material before the shrines of 'Level 3' were set up.

The two little shrines were of much the same pattern. In one the inner room or sanctuary is almost entirely taken up by a large brick base, in the other there are two brick bases again almost filling the room. The walls were of burnt brick, the floors had been of clay laid over brick rubble; flanking the outer door of one there were two rectangular brick bases, and two more seemed almost to block the N.E. end of the lane just beyond the shrine door. The construction was poor, and much of the outer (S.E.) wall had fallen forwards into the lane in masses whose bricks still adhered together; in two places carefully squared stone slabs had been substituted for bricks. Against the middle door of the N.E. building the door-socket stone was found in place, but it was uninscribed. Again the bricks bore no inscription, and measurements told nothing, for the walls contained a medley of bricks of all periods down to the Kassite; a fragment of limestone with an inscription of Warad-Sin found lying by the communicating door of the N.E. shrine certainly did not belong there. A curious discovery was made in the sanctuary of this building: partly under the pavement and partly in the thickness of the N.E. wall was a collection of clay models of plano-convex bricks, usually with a symbol incised on one side, square bricks and mixing-bowls for bitumen. This reverence for the primitive brick type is paralleled by the custom in Neo-Babylonian times of enclosing the *papsugal* figures buried beneath house-floors in boxes made of plano-convex bricks: it was perhaps for the same reason that in 'Level 2 B' the floor of the courtyard of the N.E. chapel was paved with plano-convex bricks and with bricks of Dungi.

In the lane, against the shrine wall, was found the coarsely-carved head in white limestone illustrated on pl. LXXVII, 1. A more remarkable discovery made at the same level was that of the granite stela on pl. LXXIV, 1. The stone is 0.25 m. in height and is a very hard coarse-grained red, black and white granite; no cutting tools have been used on it (presumably the stone was too hard) but the relief has been produced by rubbing or

grinding with sand or emery. On the front is the seated figure of a god behind whom is an attendant standing with a staff or fly-whisk; on the narrow edges are two standing attendants, and on the back is an inscription in large straggling characters of which the middle has been intentionally defaced. What survives of the text gives us the names of Ur-Nina and of his grandfather:

N · C · F · S I T E L E V E L 3

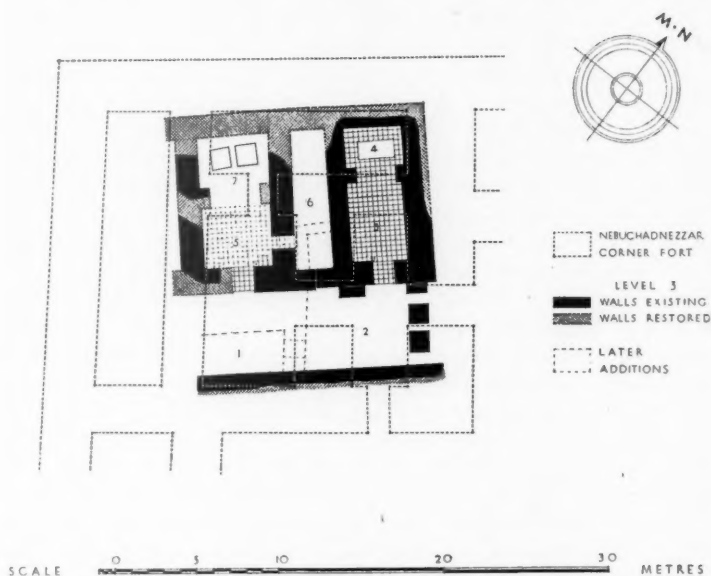


FIG. 4

his father's name and that of Lagash have been hammered out. Various monuments found in past seasons have borne witness to a Lagashite domination at Ur: this stela would lend support to the view that such domination began with a victory of Ur-Nina, and it is perhaps to him that we must attribute the overthrow of the Second Dynasty of Ur.

In all our excavations at Ur there has been hitherto an almost complete blank in the record of building construction between Kuri-Galzu in the fourteenth century B.C. and Sinbalatsu-iqbi in the seventh; fragments of brick paving by Adad-aplu-iddinam (c. 1050 B.C.) in front of the Ziggurat and in the great

court of Nannar were the sole exception to the rule. The interest of these unfortunately nameless ruins on the lower terrace of the Ziggurat consists largely in this, that they serve to fill up that gap and show that work, and even original work, at least on a small scale, was carried out on the sacred sites of Ur during those seven centuries; the three buildings may well have had each a life of two hundred years, and considerably less than that is required if we allow a reasonable lifetime to the great Kuri-Galzu range which must next be described.

The buildings which occupy our next level ('Level 4', *v.* plan, pl. LXXV) were contemporary in their foundation with the revetment added by Kuri-Galzu to the Ziggurat terrace front; this was proved by the lane running between them, part of whose brick paving was preserved and came right up against either wall and in each case against the third course of bricks from its foundation. The original building had undergone at least two phases of reconstruction and had seen a corresponding rise in ground level,¹ and with this rise there had gone one rather radical change. Kuri-Galzu's building stood upon a low terrace the edge of which, on the N.W., was revetted with burnt brick; in time this casing fell away, and when the building was repaired for the second time only a sloping bank smoothly plastered with clay led down to the low level of the residential quarter beyond the confines of the Ziggurat complex. Nearly all the N.W. wall of the building has fallen away down this bank or has been destroyed by the foundations of later structures (at least this is true so far as our work has yet gone) and is shown on the plan as restored, but the restoration admits of little doubt, and the general character of the building of none. Separated by a fairly wide lane, once brick-paved, from the buttressed front of the upper terrace of the Ziggurat there is a long range of buildings consisting of a central corridor with occasional cross doors and on either side of this and communicating with it a series of magazines. The corridor was paved, the magazines sometimes paved, sometimes floored with clay over brick rubble; there was only a single door on to the lane (and this was subsequently bricked up) and owing to the destruction of the walls at the S.W. end no entrance was found such as one would expect at the end of the corridor. At the N.E., the building came to an end on a line corresponding to that of the S.W. jamb of the entrance

¹ For the most part the new work was superimposed on the old with at most a slight overlap; additions to the original design are shown in the plan in outline only.

door to Kuri-Galzu's fort¹; by omitting the end chambers on the inside of the corridor the magazine building was made to follow the outline of the fort salient; the unity of the scheme is obvious. The probable reconstruction of the magazines is given by the section on pl. LXXV; the store rooms would probably have flat roofs sloping slightly outwards for drainage and the roof of the corridor would be raised so as to admit light by clerestory windows, the roof sloping either to one side or, less probably, to both from a central ridge; none of the walls is thick enough to support brick vaults. At Babylon the store-houses attached to the Ziggurat formed quadrangular enclosures below the terrace; the range of chambers on the lower terrace at Ur are clearly magazines and must correspond to those at Babylon.

When these buildings were found, the season was so far spent that no attempt was made to go below them and discover whether they followed an earlier model; but during the last days of work there did come to light in front of the fort salient splendid walls of the Larsa period standing as much as 3.50 m. high; there was no time to excavate properly these important remains, which must be related to Warad-Sin's mud-brick fort.

The discovery of the lower terrace adds much to our picture of the Ziggurat. Separated from the houses of the town by an open space which at the point where we have dug is no less than 11.0 m. wide, Kuri-Galzu's terrace, 3.25 m. high, was carried up by the blank walls of the magazines built on its edge, and would give the appearance of a massive rampart shutting off the sacred area from the domestic quarter. Above the roof of the storerooms would be seen the higher buildings of the upper terrace whose walls again would make an inner line of defence, and the towering mass of the Ziggurat would dominate the whole; this isolation of the great monument, unsuspected hitherto, must have vastly increased its effect.

From the terrace edge of Kuri-Galzu a trench was cut running out to the N.W. almost as far as the inner face of the town wall, and was enlarged into a regular excavation covering the area of a number of houses. Further to the S.W. a similar trench was started but abandoned at an earlier stage. Between these two trenches the ground surface had been considerably denuded, but the trenches themselves crossed higher ground; in the uppermost levels there were found remains of the latest period in the city's history, ruins of private houses of the Persian age, and below their foundations the graves of the occupants of the

¹ The fort, which enclosed that of Warad-Sin, probably served as a gateway to the Ziggurat terrace and corresponded to E-dublal-mah on its other side.

houses. The house-remains were scanty, scarcely ever sufficient to yield intelligible ground-plans, but it was clear that for the most part the buildings reproduced with minor alterations the houses of an earlier date whose walls were standing at a lower level. They produced no objects of importance, but the graves did yield a certain number of glazed vases, beads and seals. One clay coffin found in the low ground between the trenches, flush with the modern surface, proved very interesting. It had been plundered, and only a few fragments of bones and no clay or other vessels or beads were left in it, but at the bottom of the coffin there was a collection of nearly two hundred seal-impressions on clay. That these were really a collection was evident, for the lumps of soft clay had been pressed against the gems (the finger-marks were plain on the back and there was no hole through which a string could have passed) and had afterwards been baked so as to make the record permanent; they were illustrations of the specimens in a collector's cabinet. And the collection was remarkably varied, as can be seen from the small selection shown on pl. LXXVII, 2. Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian pieces are easily recognizable; some are perhaps of Phoenician workmanship, and a few seem by their style to anticipate the beginnings of Sassanian art. An impression from a cast¹ of a coin of Athens of about 450 B.C. gives at any rate a *terminus post quem* for the date at which the collection was formed. At Ur very few remains have been found of this period, which must have seen the final decay and desertion of the city (our latest dated tablet is of the twelfth year of Alexander the Great). It is remarkable that this isolated discovery should so well illustrate the various artistic influences which were brought to bear on the Mesopotamian valley under the cosmopolitan rule of the Persians and the Macedonians.

Excavations were carried down only to a strictly limited depth so as to bring to light the fairly well preserved houses of the second level. They were of Neo-Babylonian or late Kassite date. In this part of the residential town we have again the narrow winding

¹ The impression is considerably smaller than the original coin. Probably this is due to a clay mould having been made from the coin and a new positive cast from this: the present clay impression is from the cast. The repeated shrinkage of the clay in drying would account for the small size of our impression. In the Calene phialae decorated with central medallions taken from coins the shrinkage is approximately the same, owing to the die having been of clay as well as the vessel itself. For the casting of impressions from silver coins, cf. G. F. Hill in *Hermes*, vol. xxxvi, p. 317. Probably in this case a cast (in gold?) was taken from the coin to make the bezel of a finger-ring: this would account for the presence of the apparent coin-impression in a collection of impressions from gems.



1. Site N C F, Level IV. A, Warad-Sin's terrace front; B, Kuri-Galzu's revetment.
On left, the magazine buildings of Kuri-Galzu



2. Site N C F, Level IV. Kuri-Galzu's magazine building: the corridor
looking S.W.



1. Limestone head of Kassite date



2. Examples of seal-impressions from the Persian collection



Steatite bowl (1)



lanes and huddled houses familiar in that section of the Larsa city excavated south-east of the Temenos, but the lanes are still narrower and the house-plans are more irregular than in the earlier period; none of the buildings seems to have had an upper storey, and the actual construction is generally poor. If in spite of their flimsy character the houses were long-lived, the walls often repaired and altered, the floors constantly raised, we can only see in the fact evidence for the poverty of the age. While it would be rash to argue too much from the results of a very limited area of excavation, the obvious theory of Ur's decadence does seem to be supported by what can be observed here. The houses themselves produced no objects of interest. The graves beneath them contained a certain amount of glazed pottery and a few good beads—carnelian, agate, amethyst and chalcidony—and an occasional small gold ear-ring or finger-ring of silver with engraved bezel; but the outstanding discovery was made not here but in the trial trench further to the S.W. Here, in the ruins of a house which, judging from its being immediately below the modern surface, must have been of Persian date, in a thick bed of ashes and burnt earth resulting from the building's destruction by fire, four objects were found lying close together and evidently thrown away at the same time. One was a rectangular slab of dark steatite, perfectly plain; the second a handled mug carved out of a block of steatite, somewhat irregular in shape, not decorated, and difficult to date. The third object was also of steatite, a flat stone shaped rather like the sole of a boot 0.13 m. long (pl. LXXIV, 2) on the upper surface of which are holes and rosettes; at the 'heel' end there had been figures carved in the round, of which only the feet remain, minute figures of a man and two bulls, very finely carved. As Mr. C. J. Gadd pointed out to me, it is a gaming-board of a type known in Egypt at an earlier date (the best example is that found by the late Lord Carnarvon at Thebes and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York) and introduced (or re-introduced?) into Babylonia by Esarhaddon; fragments of similar boards from Nineveh are now in the British Museum, but this is the first nearly complete example.

The fourth object was a bowl or cup of dark grey steatite, measuring 0.135 m. across the rim, the sides of which are decorated with five figures of oxen carved in relief, the bodies and legs in profile and rendered in low relief, the heads turned outwards over the shoulder and projecting so far that only the horns are attached to the background. A large triangular break has removed the head of one of the oxen, and there is another chip

out of the rim which has not injured the decoration; otherwise the vessel is complete, and the surface is absolutely undamaged. The animals are shown as almost stationary, with all their hoofs set on the ground and the legs scarcely flexed; over the back of each is a large ear of barley. In the written language the sign for barley is combined with that for cattle to give the meaning 'fat oxen'; that may be the case here, or the two representations may be independent and symbolize the agriculture and the stock-breeding which formed the wealth of the country. The style is astonishingly good, and from an artistic point of view the bowl must rank as the finest known example of a *genre* which at one time was very popular with the Sumerians and is to-day represented by the dragon-cup of Gudea in the Louvre and by a good many fragments elsewhere. The date is certainly between the twenty-fourth and the twenty-second centuries B.C., i.e., the bowl belongs either to the time of Gudea or to that of the Third Dynasty of Ur: how it came to be in the ruins of a house of the Persian period we cannot say (pl. LXXVIII).

A Destroyed Cycle of Wall-Paintings in a Church in Wiltshire

By TANCRED BORENIUS, PH.D., D.LIT.

[Read 26 November 1931]

THE fact that the examples of Medieval Painting surviving in England are but a fraction of the pictorial production of this country during the period in question, is, of course, a commonplace among all students of the subject; and whenever you follow up a special line of investigation in this connexion you inevitably get a fresh and vivid illustration of this fact.

The county of Wiltshire is certainly not at the present time bereft of interesting specimens of medieval painting; but a closer investigation of the relevant historical material makes one clearly realize that what is left stands in no proportion at all to what has been lost. Indeed, there did exist one edifice in Wiltshire, which probably deserved to rank in the annals of English Medieval Painting immediately after Westminster Palace—I mean Clarendon Palace, of which now nothing but an insignificant fragment survives, but which on the evidence of contemporary records, during the reign of Henry III was most lavishly decorated with wall-paintings as well as with stained glass and with sculptures.¹ We read of series of subjects from the story of Alexander the Great; of paintings of the 'History of Antioch', that is, the Third Crusade; of the Wheel of Fortune and of sundry other subjects from the Scriptures, legend and history—all of which are gone: but from analogous contemporary paintings we can probably form a fair idea of what these paintings must have looked like—say from the Wheel of Fortune in Rochester Cathedral or from the reconstructed allegories of the twelve months of the year which appear in roundels on the ceiling of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral along with a number of other subjects.

About these allegories of the months I should, indeed, like to say a few words before I come to the main subject of this paper; for although they are of quite exceptional interest, they have been but very little noticed by art historians; and I am, moreover, fortunate in being able to illustrate a complete series

¹ Many of the documents in question will be found conveniently set out in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. v, *Hundred of Alderbury*, pp. 150 sqq.; while a more complete series is given by T. J. Pettigrew in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xv (1859), pp. 246 sqq.

of records of them. It is not, as a matter of fact, the first time that these paintings are being spoken of in this room, for they came in for a good deal of discussion at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 27 January 1876.¹ That was shortly after the paintings had been restored; and some valuable information as to the methods followed in the restoration by Messrs. Clayton and Bell is given in the report of the Rev. H. T. Armfield's paper in the *Proceedings*. Before the restoration was taken in hand the paintings had been 'covered with a wash of buff colour, which . . . being partially transparent obscured the paintings without entirely concealing them from the examination of a careful observer'. Messrs. Clayton and Bell made tracings of the subjects through this layer of wash; and as the devices of restoration of those days were not capable of dealing with the problem of how to preserve the original paintings—'the size or other vehicle had perished and the pigments were in a state of powder'—tracings were taken 'wherever it was possible' and fresh paintings, on the lines of the old ones, were painted on the ceiling. How much you could see of the original paintings through the wash, can be judged from one actual tracing of one of the figures which I am enabled to reproduce through the kindness of Mr. Reginald Bell (fig. 1); and this permits us to conclude that the series of cartoons for the reconstructed subjects of the Months, which, thanks to Mr. Bell, I am also privileged to illustrate, are at any rate iconographically very dependable, even if in the actual language of artistic expression a certain accent of 1870 Gothic—instead of 1270 Gothic—is rather noticeable. These allegories of the months conform more or less with the general iconographic tradition of the time, as we know it especially from numerous illuminations and bas-reliefs in stone. This category of subjects forms, indeed, one of the most important of those provinces of medieval art, in which the artist ventures beyond the boundaries of sacred history and legend, and comes to grips with everyday life; and these epitomes of the changing seasons of the year, dating from a time when man was in touch with nature in quite a different way from what he is now, have a singular power of appealing to our imagination, entirely apart from the value which they have from the wealth of archaeological information which they convey about life and manners. The sculptured 'calendar' has, as is well known, its place in countless medieval church porches. Mystically, moreover, the twelve months of the year were regarded as corresponding with the twelve

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. vi, pp. 477 sq.

apostles, while the four seasons had their mystical equivalents in the four evangelists.¹ There is hence, of course, nothing surprising in the inclusion of such subjects in the scheme of decoration of a church.² In the Salisbury series we have first (pl. LXXIX, fig. 1) January shown as a man warming himself at



FIG. 1. Salisbury Cathedral Church: tracing of figure painted on ceiling (thirteenth century)

a fire and February typified by three men at a board spread for a feast, one passing the cup to the other. As a rule the order is inverted, January being the feast and February the

¹ Compare Sicardus, *Mitræ* (Patr. Lat., ccxiii, 232): *Annus est generalis Christus, cuius membra sunt quatuor tempora, scilicet quatuor Evangelistae. Duodecim menses sunt Apostoli* . . .

² It may be noted that in 1876 Mr. Armfield found the presence of these 'purely secular subjects' very difficult to account for; while the Rev. M. E. C. Walcote very properly 'pointed out the higher significance which they might be made to connote'.

scene by the fireside: *Poto; ligna cremo* as the well-known medieval set of hexameters about the months begins. March (pl. LXXIX, fig. 2) is the man digging in the fields—as in the bas-relief at Amiens,¹ only there the scene is a vineyard. April shows us a man sowing—*do gramen gratum* as the Latin motto ran; while May (pl. LXXIX, fig. 3) is typified by a man on horse-back riding out hawking—a frequent motif this. June brings the scene of a youth offering a nosegay to a lady. For July and August (pl. LXXX, fig. 1) the Latin mottoes were respectively *Foenum declino*—and we see a harvest scene under the sickle moon—and *Messes meto*, a man threshing corn held by another in a receptacle. September shows (pl. LXXX, fig. 2), most appropriately for Wiltshire, an apple harvest—for this too there is a parallel at Amiens;² while October takes us to warmer climes, in virtue of the scene by a wine press. In November (pl. LXXX, fig. 3), logs are being cut for the winter fires, as at Reims; while December shows us the pigs being fed with acorns, and slaughtered for the winter feasts—*immolo porcos*. Nowhere else in England does there survive a complete series of medieval wall-paintings of these subjects: though in the church of Easby four allegories of the months (or possibly the seasons) may still be seen on the splays of the windows on the North wall of the chancel—the subjects being Digging in the Fields, Hawking, Sowing and Pruning of Trees.³ Elsewhere in Europe too, complete medieval series of wall-paintings of the months are far from frequent; so the importance of the Salisbury series, even if reconstructed, is proportionately great.⁴

It is on record that the same series occurred, in sculpture, in Westminster Palace and also at Clarendon.⁵ Concerning the medieval wall-paintings at Westminster, we possess, of course, a good many facts, put on record when they were rediscovered early in the nineteenth century. As to Clarendon, nothing of the kind is available; it had all vanished without a trace

¹ Reproduced in Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1910), p. 88, fig. 34.

² See the reproduction, *ibid.*, p. 94, fig. 39.

³ Drawings, by Prof. E. W. Tristram, of these subjects, reconstructed from engravings, are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁴ I hope to return in another connexion to the subject of the months in medieval wall-painting; meanwhile a brief survey of some existing examples may be consulted in R. van Marle's *Iconographie de l'art profane* (The Hague, 1931).

⁵ W. R. Lethaby, in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxx (April 1917), p. 139, refers to these allegories of the twelve months at Clarendon in a somewhat cryptic fashion which suggests that they were paintings. The correct facts are set out by Pettigrew, *loc. cit.*



FIG. 1. January

February



FIG. 2. March

April



FIG. 3. May

June

Salisbury Cathedral Church : Allegories of the months
(thirteenth century ; reconstructed)



FIG. 1. July

August



FIG. 2. September

October



FIG. 3. November

December

Salisbury Cathedral Church: Allegories of the months
(thirteenth century; reconstructed)

centuries before ; and here I may say that this gradual melting away of Clarendon Palace is one of the most mysterious episodes in the annals of English art, which I have never seen fully accounted for and elucidated.¹ To a much more recent period belongs the disappearance of another very remarkable series of thirteenth-century wall-paintings in Wiltshire, the one with which this paper is primarily concerned : and although the destruction of these paintings within the memory of man is something which cannot be sufficiently deplored, we are at any rate fortunate in possessing, not only fairly full written accounts of these paintings, but also a number of early photographic records, which, however, to this day have remained practically unknown.

First, a few words as to the locality in which the buildings containing these wall-paintings once stood. When you go to London from Salisbury by road, you cross rather more than a mile north-east of Salisbury a bridge, known as St. Thomas's Bridge, commemorating in its name St. Thomas of Canterbury and probably originally built in or soon after 1220, when the translation of the bones of St. Thomas to a new shrine gave a great impetus to the cult of the saint. St. Thomas's Bridge spans a river called the Bourne, which a couple of miles further south flows into the Avon : and the present London road continues as the right arm of a fork, mounting rapidly towards the high and bleak table-land where lies, for instance, Winterslow. The road on the left takes you up the smiling valley of the Bourne which lies at the foot of the grand and desolate downland I just referred to ; and here you very soon come upon three villages which share the name of Winterbourne—a name indicating, of course, the characteristic of some of these chalk streams of running dry between spring and early autumn. The three localities are differentiated by a suffix : Winterbourne Gunner, commemorating in its name Gunnora, wife of Henry de la Mere, lord of this manor in the thirteenth century ; Winterbourne Earls, so called after the Earls, the heirs of Edward of Salisbury, sheriff of Wiltshire, named in Domesday Book ; and Winterbourne Dauntsey, which belonged to the Dauntsey family in the days of Edward I (1272–1307). All these villages had interesting old churches until some sixty or seventy years ago, but only that of Winterbourne Gunner survives, incorporating portions of quite early Norman date.

¹ So far as I can make out, a few inlaid tiles, some small metal objects, and a fifteenth-century stone matrix, all in the Salisbury Museum, are the only archaeological finds made at Clarendon now surviving.

The two old churches of Winterbourne Earls and Winterbourne Dauntsey were pulled down in 1867, the present church of Winterbourne Earls being built in 1868 for that parish as well as Winterbourne Dauntsey.

Of the exterior and the interior of Winterbourne Dauntsey church we can form an idea from two watercolours by Richard Kemm belonging to the Salisbury Museum.¹ A plan of the church is given, as usual, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare.² As may be seen from the watercolour showing the exterior of the church (pl. LXXXI, fig. 2), it was a plain flint building, with chancel, nave and a square tower on the south. The dimensions of the building were not great—the chancel 17½ ft. long by 21 ft. wide, the nave 35 ft. long by 25 ft. wide: and, as shown on the plan here reproduced (fig. 2) the interior contained three piscinae, one south of the altar, and two in the nave, one each north and south immediately west of the screen, and there was also a font of which there is a watercolour in the Devizes Museum. In the porch there was a holy water stoup; and mention is also made of some fragments of ancient stained glass surviving. Kemm's watercolour of the interior (pl. LXXXI, fig. 1) is a drawing which, I think, brings out the character and charm of this ancient church in a most attractive fashion. The walls were very thick, the side windows being Norman, while the east window contained two lancets. The chancel roof was of the trussed rafter type. Chancel and nave were separated by a fine fifteenth-century screen in carved wood, of which there is a watercolour in the Salisbury Museum.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare makes no reference to any wall paintings in this church; so it is obvious that at the beginning of the nineteenth century these were not visible. Indeed, their existence was only discovered when the work of demolishing the church had begun in 1867; and such was the interest which was evoked by these paintings, that various tracings and copies were made of them, and even some photographs taken. Of these records and their fate I shall have more to say anon, but I will at this point just refer to the fact that I have been able to trace six of those photographs; and of these I have had reproductions made, with which I will now proceed to illustrate

¹ For photographs of these, and for a great deal of help generally in preparing this paper, I am deeply indebted to my friend, Mr. Frank Stevens, O.B.E., F.S.A., Director of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum. Concerning Richard Kemm, see *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. xlv (December 1931), p. 498.

² Sir R. Colt Hoare, *op. cit.* vol. v, *Hundred of Alderbury*, pp. 82-4.

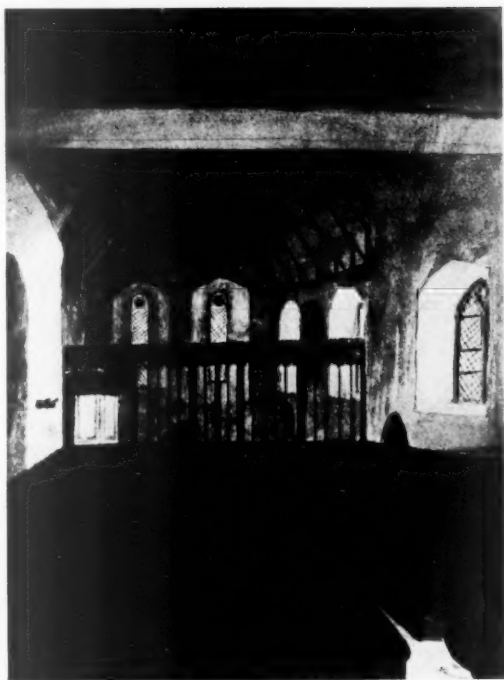


FIG. 1. Winterbourne Dauntsey church : interior



FIG. 2. Winterbourne Dauntsey church : exterior

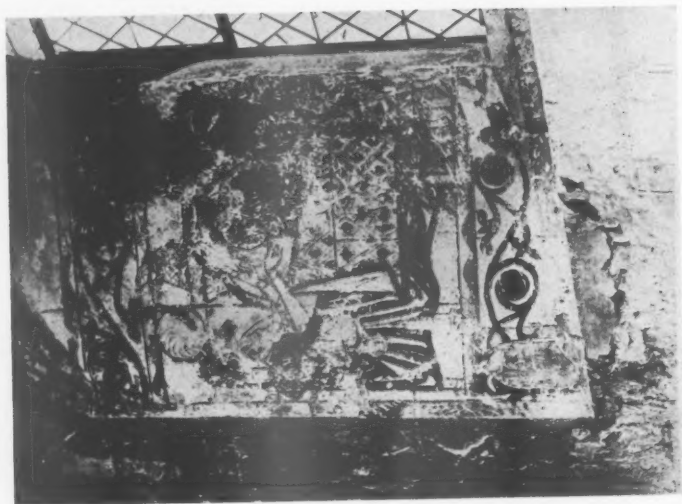


FIG. 2. The Nativity



FIG. 1. The Annunciation and Visitation

Winterbourne Dauntsey church : wall-paintings

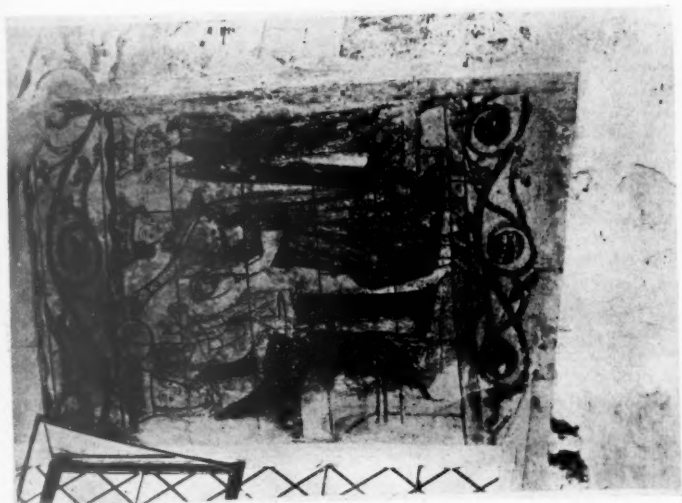


FIG. 1. The adoration of the Magi



FIG. 2. Christ carrying his cross

Winterbourne Dauntsey church : wall-paintings



FIG. 1. The Crucifixion



FIG. 2. The Resurrection ; Harrowing of Hell ; Noli me tangere
Winterbourne Dauntsey church : wall-paintings

A DESTROYED CYCLE OF WALL-PAINTINGS 399

the graphic account of these paintings given in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* for 1 June 1867:

We have had an opportunity of inspecting some curious and interesting paintings, which have just been discovered beneath the plaster on the walls of the church at Winterborne Dauntsey, which edifice is now in course of demolition. This church, which was built in the 13th century, is a very plain, unpretending structure, in the Early English style, without buttresses. It seems most probable that the

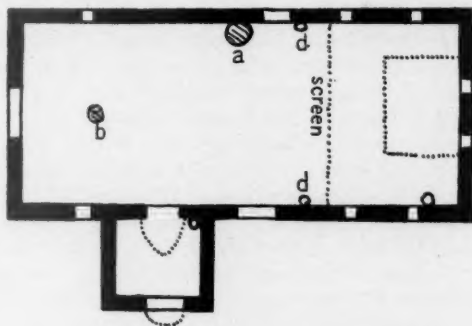


FIG. 2. Winterbourne Dauntsey church:
ground plan

paintings are nearly of the same date as the church, as they appear to have been executed shortly after the erection of the walls. From the style of ornamentation we are inclined to assign their origin to the middle or latter part of the 13th century.¹ The series commences at the west end of the north wall, and was, no doubt, carried completely round the church, representing, in order, the principal events of our Lord's life, and ending with his resurrection, at the north end of the west wall. The colours used are red and yellow, in distemper, and, considering that it is 600 years since these paintings were executed, the colours are wonderfully fresh. They are drawn by a masterly hand, with a bold, free touch. There is much grace and beauty in many of the figures, and the subjects are treated with great poetical feeling. Between the western extremity of the north wall and the window we have first a representation of the Annunciation.² Between the Angel and the Virgin is the usual lily, in a flower pot, and behind the Virgin are two saints. There is a beautiful expression, given in half a dozen strokes, of humble devoted submission, in Mary's

¹ The very end of the thirteenth century would in my opinion be the most probable date.

² This is also the first subject of which there exists a photograph (pl. LXXXII, fig. 1).

face.¹ Next, in the splay of the window, is the Nativity.² The manger or cradle is covered with a chequered cloth, behind which is the Virgin Mother with the child in her arms. At the foot is a shepherd in the act of adoration, and Joseph is represented asleep at the other extremity. The head of Joseph is admirably drawn, and behind the cradle are seen an ox and an ass. On the opposite splay of the same window is the Adoration of the Magi.³ This is the best preserved of all of the paintings, but the faces of the figures are much inferior in execution to the others, and look as if the originals had in some way become defaced and were restored by a less skilful hand.⁴ In this subject the Virgin is represented seated and crowned. She holds in her arms the infant Jesus, who has a book in one hand, while the other hand is held up. The wise men, three in number, are crowned; one of them is represented in the act of kneeling in front of the Virgin Mary, while he holds in his hand a gift. The other two in the back ground are pointing to the star over the head of the Saviour. The next subject represents the angel appearing to Joseph in a dream.⁵ The angel is depicted in the act of descending from the clouds, and points to Joseph, who is lying on his bed. Then follows the Massacre of the Innocents, which is curiously treated. A man seated has a huge sword held upright before him. On the ground, at his side, lie the heads of several babies, which have been slain. In front of him is a woman with a baby in her arms and an expression of great horror in her face.⁶ To this succeeds the Flight into Egypt. The Virgin Mary is represented riding on an ass, with the Holy Child in her arms. The subjects that followed were, at a subsequent date, painted over with a gigantic figure of St. Christopher bearing the infant Christ across the river.⁷ At the top and bottom of the preceding subjects there is a border about six inches in width, with a bold running floral pattern; the top border is red and the bottom one is yellow, and

¹ The figures behind the Virgin which are here interpreted as 'two saints' must in point of fact be intended for the subject of the Visitation with the Virgin and St. Elizabeth in close embrace, much as we see them, for instance, in the thirteenth-century wall-painting at Dale, in Derbyshire, which has recently been uncovered by Prof. Tristram.

² Of this subject a photograph exists (pl. LXXXII, fig. 2).

³ Of this subject a photograph exists (pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1).

⁴ Of this I confess I can find no convincing indication in the photograph. It looks to me the same quality all through, and very excellent quality.

⁵ From now onwards I regret to say there are no subjects available for reproduction, until we get to the corner of the south and the west wall.

⁶ This must indeed have been a very graphic expression of sorrow; for a MS. account of the discovery of these paintings preserved in Winterbourne Earls vicarage, records that one of the workmen on flaking away the whitewash, saw this figure and exclaimed 'This woman seems to be in great trouble'.

⁷ That is what also elsewhere happened in the case of these figures of St. Christopher, so popular in the later Middle Ages: for instance at Little Hampden, Bucks, see H. C. Waite, *St. Christopher in English Mediaeval Wall-painting* (London 1929), p. 24 and pl. 14.

this border can be traced under the colours of St. Christopher. A portion of his staff, some fish swimming in the water, and the waves may be made out. We find, too, the black colour introduced here which is used in the original series of paintings. On the splay of the next window on the north side is the figure of a knight bearing a shield. Under the window is a piscina, and the stones of the arch above are painted alternate yellow and black. All the succeeding subjects have been entirely destroyed until we come to the window on the south side, corresponding with that on the north. This window has also a piscina under it, and some figures on the splay. On the south side is depicted the woman who came to our Lord with the alabaster box of ointment. The Saviour is represented as seated, one of his hands being lifted up. Before him stands the woman, and behind are the censorious disciples, who are rebuked by Christ. Unfortunately, the head of the Saviour is in a bad state of preservation, but there are sufficient remains of the nimbus to prove that the figure represented our Lord. The next subject is the Last Supper, and then follows the Agony in the Garden. The heads of the sleeping disciples, of Mary, and of some other personages are well executed. Beyond this subject is a space of wall on which there has been a mural tablet, the erection of which led to the destruction of the plaster on the space occupied thereby. It is not improbable that on this space was represented the Betrayal of our Lord. Then comes the east splay of the last window on the south wall, and nearest the west end on this there is no subject remaining, as the original plaster has disappeared, and been replaced by recent plaster. On this space no doubt was depicted the Arraignment at Pilate's Bar, as on the west splay of this window is painted a representation of the Scourging. In the corner between the window and the west wall is our Lord bearing the cross, which is in the shape of the letter T, and not in the usual form.¹ On the west wall is the Crucifixion:² a soldier pierces with a spear the Lord's side; and another with a hatchet is breaking the legs of the penitent thief, who is placed on the Saviour's right hand. On the left is the impenitent thief. On the other side of the west window our Lord is represented seated, holding a banner, the emblem of the triumph of the resurrection.³ Then is seen the angel announcing the resurrection to the women. We have next our Lord with a banner in his hand leading a multitude of souls out of purgatory. The last subject on the west wall terminates the series. It is a representation of a female addressing a figure, in front of which is another figure, of which very little remains. It is conjectured that this painting represented the appearance of our Lord

¹ Here a photograph is again available (pl. LXXXIII, fig. 2). The T-shaped cross occurs too in the same scene at Croughton.

² Here, too, a photograph is available (pl. LXXXIV, fig. 1), though the preservation of the painting is unfortunately very poor.

³ What is seen here (pl. LXXXIV, fig. 2) is really Christ stepping out of the tomb, the traditional motif of the Resurrection compositions.

to the women in the garden.¹ The chancel of this Church was newly plastered about eight years ago; and there can be little doubt that the events of our Saviour's life which took place between the flight into Egypt and the Scene in the house of Simon at Bethany were portrayed on the original plaster and splay of the windows in the chancel, and there are indications on the walls of that part of the edifice proving that the same style of painting which adorned the walls of the nave was carried throughout the building. The discovery of these interesting remains is mainly due to the zeal and energy of Mr. Edwards, of Amesbury, and Mr. Zillwood, of Salisbury, who have devoted much time and labour to removing the whitewash and plaster under which they were hidden, and to which doubtless they owe their preservation.² It is much to be desired that some archaeologist, who has studied such subjects, may be induced to examine these paintings before the church is demolished. We may add that Mr. Brooks, of Salisbury, has taken photographs of seven or eight of the best preserved subjects, and the proceeds derived from the sale will be given to the funds for building the new church which are still 700*l.* short of what will be required.³

Thus far the writer of the article in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*; and I think it must be agreed that we owe him a considerable debt of gratitude for the painstaking and appreciative way in which he has set down what the demolition of Winterbourne Dauntsey church revealed. He goes on to describe how, in pulling down Winterbourne Earls church, paintings were also discovered: a representation of the Trinity, which the writer dates very early, and three other subjects—St. Christopher, St. Michael and Adam and Eve, to which he assigns a date in the reign of Mary Tudor. Of these paintings, the indefatigable Mr. Zillwood also made drawings, but no photographs were, so far as I am aware, taken.³ The story of

¹ What was depicted here was undoubtedly the *Noli me tangere*, a scene which in English medieval wall-painting can be traced as far back as the early thirteenth century, as shown by one of the paintings in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Winchester Cathedral.

² This is, I feel, a word which strikes one as rather odd in an account of the destruction of the church.

³ 'On the taking down of the parish church of Winterborne Earls . . . mural paintings were also discovered by Mr. Zillwood . . . The principal part of this church appeared to have been erected about the time of Henry VII, on the site of a prior Norman church, as portions of Norman architecture were still remaining, and it also appeared to have been enlarged by widening the nave, the north wall of which had been placed farther out in the year 1553. The first painting discovered was over the outside of the doorway leading from the tower, which was also the porch, into the nave. It was a representation of the Father, with extended arms, holding the transverse part of a Cross, on which was the Son, but on account of the plaster being damaged, the Third Person of the Trinity could not be discovered. This was decidedly on Norman work and the painting was continued and formed a part of

the drawings and tracings that were taken of the paintings is indeed a tragic one; for the whole material remained for a while in the Vicarage at Winterbourne Earls, and the present vicar of the parish, the Rev. F. E. Skyrme, a good many years ago took the very proper action of depositing the drawings in the Salisbury Museum. That was, however, unfortunately long before the present director of the Museum, my friend Mr. Frank Stevens, assumed the office which he has been filling ever since with a success which has raised Salisbury Museum to the first rank of provincial museums in the country. The most diligent search has failed to trace the whole of this most valuable material. Fortunately, a set of the photographs that were taken in 1867 survives in very fair condition in a volume which is kept in Winterbourne Earls vicarage and which also contains a very interesting account of the wall-paintings themselves. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Skyrme I have been able to have these photographs copied; and I think it will be agreed that, especially considering their date, they are remarkably good photographs, and that they allow us to draw pretty definite conclusions as regards the style, quality and date of these paintings; while the account in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* enables us to judge fairly accurately of

the decoration around the Norman arch; it was evidently of a very early character, it being red in colour, and only in outline. The next was on the north wall of nave, opposite the entrance. It was a representation of St. Christopher bearing the infant Saviour across water with the usual accessories of mermaid, fishes, &c., towards a church with a bell, and doorway at west end, standing at which was a priest holding a lantern in his hand. The infant Saviour was represented as holding in his left hand the globe, or mundus, surmounted by the cross, emblematic of the future universal prevalence of the Christian religion, whilst the right has the first three fingers extended, alluding to the doctrine of the Trinity. The whole of this painting being on the wall built in 1553, probably was done in the time of Mary. It was painted in a very superior style to what is generally found in such works, the drapery flowing and in superb colours, but there was as usual, an entire absence of perspective. The next was on the same wall, but nearer the west end. It was a representation of St. Michael with a scourge, driving off a chequered pavement the beast with seven heads mentioned in the Revelations, behind the Saint was a female figure, with several smaller figures, crowned. The last was on the west splay of the window in the north chancel wall, and was only sketched, apparently in charcoal, and never finished, being only busts of two figures, male and female, with a winged dragon, possibly intended to represent our first parents with the serpent. The sketch being unfinished seems to point out the period of the decoration to be at the close of Mary's reign, and possibly her death and the accession of Elizabeth, with the change again in the religion prevented the completion of this unfinished sketch.

Drawings of these . . . have been taken by Mr. Zillwood of Bedwin-street, Salisbury. . . .

the position of this remarkable cycle in English Medieval Iconography.¹

First then as to Iconography. It is clear that the Winterbourne Dauntsey series conforms to that widespread tradition in English Medieval Painting, that treats the walls of the church to be decorated as the means of setting forth a picture chronicle of the life of Christ: it is of course the same tradition as that which among the Italian schemes of the Trecento has found such striking expression in the cycle of frescoes by Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua. In English Medieval Painting it is usual to devote one wall of the nave to the early life of Christ and the opposite wall to the Passion: Winterbourne Dauntsey conforms in the main to this, taking in the west wall to round off the story. At West Chiltington in Sussex (thirteenth-century) it is the Infancy which we see on the north wall while the Passion is depicted on the south wall: that too, is the main scheme at Winterbourne Dauntsey, while for instance at Croughton—that veritable English Arena Chapel—the Infancy is on the south wall and the Passion on the north wall. It is notable, that when the artist treats the Infancy, he enters *in medias res*, ignoring the early episodes of the Virgin's life set out with such detail at Croughton. Obviously the size of the church was against any very elaborate series, nor would it have been possible to have several tiers of subjects as at Croughton. It is not quite easy to be sure of the subjects that were missing there in 1867: the field of alternatives is of course a wide one, and it is a notable fact that—if correctly interpreted—the scene of Christ in the House of Simon, with Mary Magdalen holding the alabaster box of ointment, should be represented at Winterbourne Dauntsey: of this subject but one other representation is recorded in England (at Notgrove, Gloucestershire).²

Then, as to the date and artistic quality of these paintings: I feel personally that the style points very definitely to the end of the thirteenth century, that is to say, to a period when Gothic art was already developed, but before it had lost any of its strength or become mannered: a comparison with the Croughton paintings of about 1325 is in my opinion very

¹ The Winterbourne Dauntsey paintings are listed in Mr. C. E. Keyser's *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations* (1883), ad litt.; and on the strength of his reference to them they have been noted, for instance, by Mr. Frank Kendon in his book, *Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages* (1923), p. 53, 105 sq., and also by Dr. James in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxvi (1927), p. 200.

² The question is whether it is the scene Luke vii. 37, and not rather John xii (Mary, the sister of Lazarus).

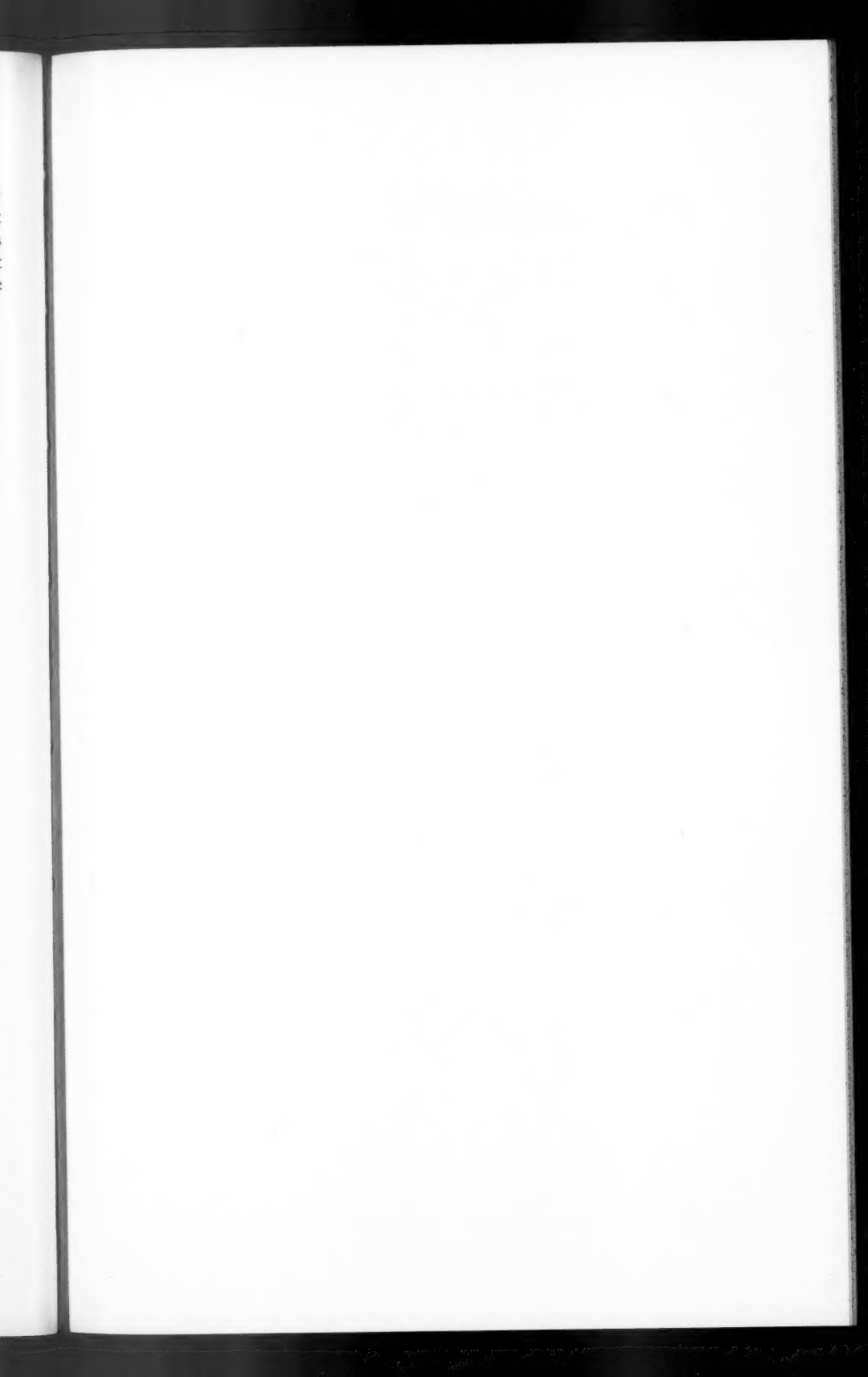
illuminating on this point. There is a record that the church of Winterbourne Dauntsey was 'consecrated' in 1326, by Robert le Petit, Suffragan Bishop of Anaghdune in Connaught, Ireland, with the consent of Roger Mortival. This, I think, can only refer to some 'reconsecration' and should in my opinion be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*. An interesting technical point is that the compositions are painted over an earlier scheme of masonry patterning which shows through. That is by no means unexampled in English Medieval Painting. There is the parallel case, for instance, in the church of Capel in Kent, with wall-paintings of an earlier thirteenth-century date than that of the Winterbourne Dauntsey paintings; and Professor Tristram tells me he thinks it was quite a usual practice in the thirteenth century first to whitewash the church, painting a masonry pattern on it straight away: and then, say a month later, to paint the figure compositions over it.

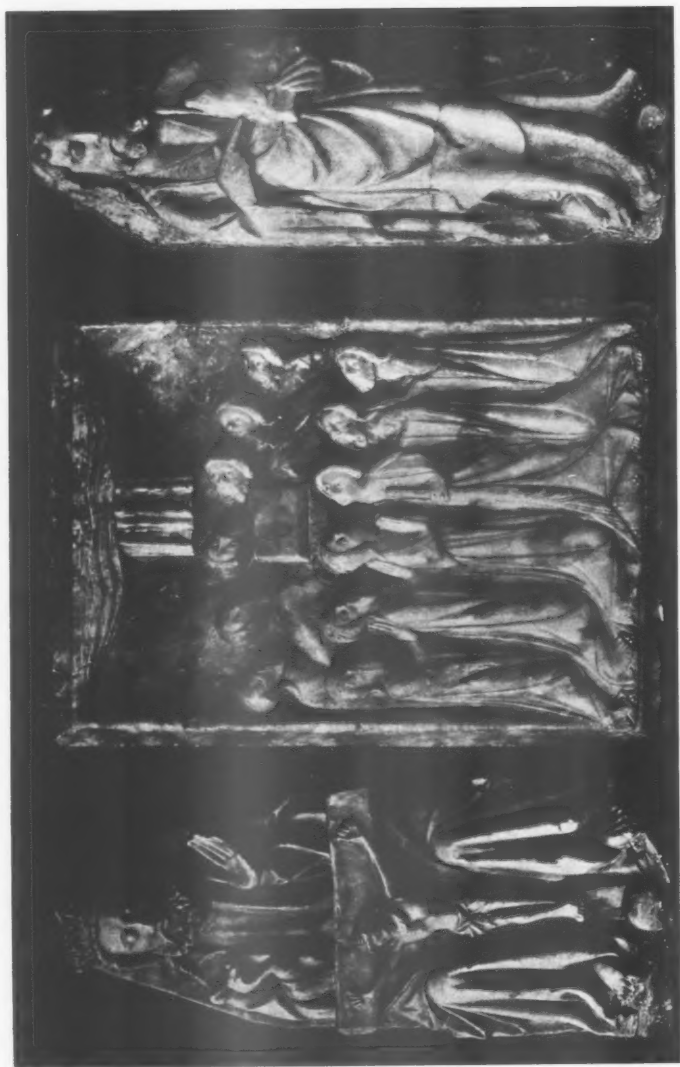
As to the local schools in English Medieval Painting of the thirteenth century, we know, I am afraid, very little, and it is doubtful whether it ever will be possible to piece together the available information into a logical whole. But I feel very strongly in front of a painting such as the *Adoration of the Magi* at Winterbourne Dauntsey that we are not here face to face with the work of some provincial rustics: what we see here is an art of fine tradition and achievement, and Clarendon, that great centre of painting during the reign of Henry III, was after all only a few miles away, down the valley of the Bourne, and lying among the woods past Burroughs Hill and Ashley Hill; while at no greater distance was Salisbury, then, as we can well imagine, seething with work in connexion with the adornment of the cathedral, consecrated in 1260, but of course by no means fully completed by that time.

Here is, then, a case of three groups of notable wall-paintings, all datable roughly between about 1250 and 1300 and all in very close proximity to one another in the same corner of South Wiltshire: surely there must be some interconnexion between these groups, even if it is natural to suppose that the painters at Clarendon were chiefly masters sent down from the court of Henry III in London.¹ Perhaps by very carefully collating the available evidence we may yet be able to reach some, even if limited, conclusions as regards the currents and local tendencies

¹ The artistic interconnexion between Clarendon and Westminster is strikingly borne witness to by a thirteenth-century tile from Clarendon in Salisbury Museum, which is identical with one from St. Stephen's Chapel now in the London Museum (A 25310).

of English painting during the great period to which the Winterbourne Dauntsey paintings belong; and it is with that hope in mind that I have ventured to treat in such detail of this remarkable cycle of paintings, now irretrievably lost and yet accessible in records which, I submit, do something like justice to their importance.





The Trinity (h. 16 in.); The Ascension (h. 16 in.); St. John Baptist (h. 16½ in.)

Medieval Alabasters from Naworth Castle

By ERIC MACLAGAN, C.B.E., Vice-President

[Read 5th May 1932]

THE alabaster reliefs which I have the privilege of laying before the Society this evening are a miscellaneous collection, arbitrarily grouped together on three slabs of slate painted a deep blue. There is no reason to suppose that any of the tables or images, altogether nine in number, had any original connexion with one another. They have been for many years fastened to the walls of the chapel of Naworth Castle in Cumberland, where they were noticed last year by our President, who was good enough to call my attention to them. Lady Carlisle very obligingly brought them up to London, and I undertook to have the modern paint in which they were smothered removed at the Victoria and Albert Museum; it is to Lady Carlisle's kindness in allowing them to remain in my charge for some months that we owe the opportunity of looking at them this evening. So far as I know, no facts as to their previous history are ascertainable.

In view of their heterogeneous character it is perhaps simplest to examine them group by group. Only one of the reliefs is of that earlier bordered type which is generally associated with the late fourteenth century. This represents the Ascension in a normal form. It may be compared with a mutilated table of the same subject which figured as no. 3 in the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster work in 1910 (Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, p. 471, fig. 540) almost precisely similar in handling, and with another fragmentary relief from Kettlebaston at the British Museum. The same treatment persisted in tables which, while later in date, still belong to a relatively early period, for example, one of those on loan from our Fellow Dr. Hildburgh at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Loan no. 4327). A peculiarity of the present relief, however, so far as I am aware, is the absence of any symbols to identify the apostles with the exception of the palm of St. John the Evangelist. This table is, both artistically and archaeologically, the most valuable of the series (pl. LXXXV).

The two smaller images mounted on each side of it are of quite a familiar kind. The Trinity is generally represented on a complete table in a larger scale, but smaller images of this

type are not unknown. Here again I may refer for comparison to an image lent by Dr. Hildburgh to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Loan no. 379).

The St. John Baptist is perfectly normal in type; the garment of camel's hair being as usual rendered as a complete skin with the camel's feet still adhering to it. A similar image forms part of the complete altarpiece at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and there is another on loan from Dr. Hildburgh (Loan no. 1334).

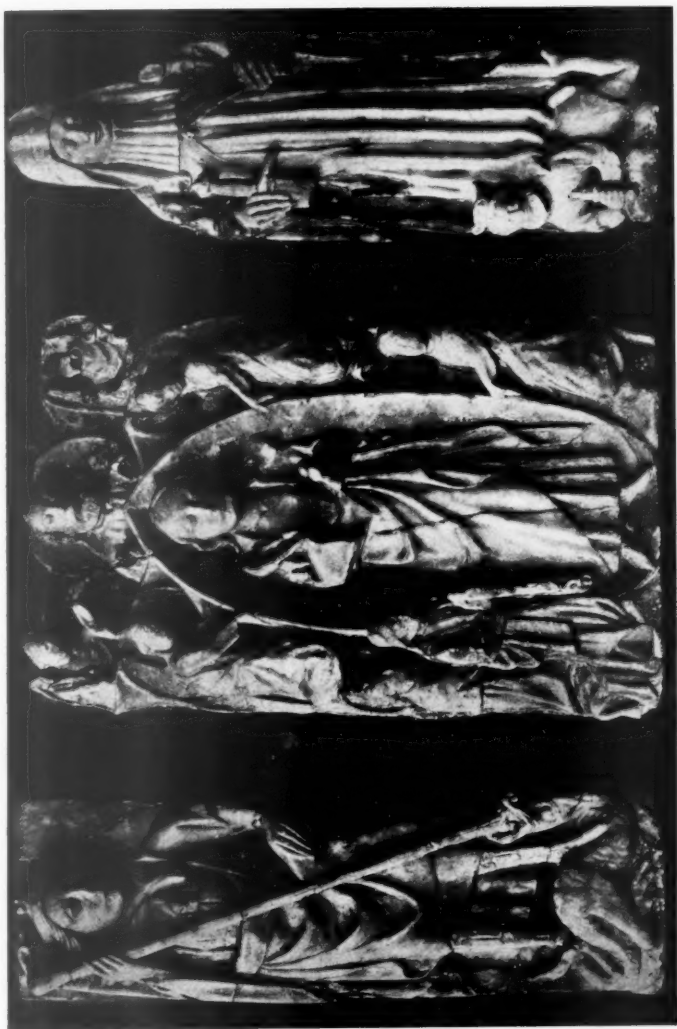
The second group of three has in the centre one of the very frequent representations of the Assumption of our Lady. This relief almost exactly follows the scheme of a well-known table of the Assumption in the Victoria and Albert Museum (A. 32—1910), which is itself interesting as preserving nearly all its original colour. It may be noted that the feet of the Virgin are, I think, not as a rule visible in English representations of the Assumption (pl. LXXXVI).

The image of St. Michael now mounted on one side of the Assumption presents no special peculiarities. A fragmentary image in Dr. Hildburgh's collection (Loan no. 193) is treated in almost precisely the same fashion.

For the figure of a nun on the other side I am unable, however, to quote any parallel, and I have not succeeded in identifying the saint represented. From the way she is shown (with sword and pastoral staff) it would appear probable that she is a martyred abbess, and the figure under her feet suggests that the king or prince responsible for her martyrdom subsequently stabbed himself. I hope that some one may be able to suggest a saint who complies with these requirements, but so far neither I nor any of my colleagues have been able to do so. The elaborately pleated gimp under her chin does not appear in the only English alabaster representation of a sainted abbess which I can recall at the moment, a pretty little figure probably representing St. Etheldreda in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. A. 3—1912).

The third group shows in the centre a table of the Betrayal, which frequently forms the first subject of a Passion altarpiece. A number of fairly close parallels to it can be quoted; there are two among the tables on loan from Dr. Hildburgh at the Victoria and Albert Museum (nos. 1434 and 21). The figure of Malchus on the ground at St. Peter's feet is, however, unusually contorted in attitude (pl. LXXXVII).

The identification of the figure on the left again presents something of a problem. Similar representations are not unknown.



St. Michael (h. 16½ in.) ; The Assumption (h. 16 in.) ; A Nun (h. 16½ in.)



St. Oswald ? (h. 16 in.) ; The Betrayal (h. 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.) ; Our Lord (h. 13 in.)

There is a king crowned and carrying his own crowned head among the figures in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and there is another similar figure with an ox at his feet in one of the niches in Prince Arthur's chantry at Worcester. This last has been identified as St. Oswald in an article by Mrs. Edmund McClure published in the *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies*, vol. xxxi, 1911-12, p. 539; the statue is illustrated opposite p. 565 and the similar statue from Henry VII's Chapel (also identified as probably St. Oswald¹) opposite p. 564. Miss Hollyer has, however, most kindly called my attention to the seated figure of a king on a throne holding his crowned head in his hands, which is to be seen on the fragment of the brass of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe, now in the Canons' Vestry of Hereford cathedral (Mill Stephenson; *List of Monumental Brasses*, p. 173, Hereford cathedral, I; Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), pl. xxi). This figure has been accepted as representing St. Ethelbert, the late eighth century king of the East English, who was decapitated by order of Offa, king of the Mercians. St. Ethelbert seems generally to be represented holding a sword and a church, and a figure of a king holding a sword identified by Mrs. McClure as St. Ethelbert appears in Prince Arthur's chantry. To the best of my belief none of these identifications is supported by an inscription, and it seems to me possible that this alabaster may represent either St. Oswald or St. Ethelbert; but I imagine that the former was perhaps a better known saint in England in the later Middle Ages.

The remaining figure is, as you will see, smaller in scale than any of the others and was unfortunately disfigured by the addition of a relatively recent head which, with Lady Carlisle's permission, I have taken the opportunity of removing, although it is still shown in the photograph. The figure apparently represents our Lord, either as the Man of Sorrows or after the Resurrection, holding a long staff in his left hand and blessing with his right, only two fingers of which are preserved. I do not know of any other exactly similar representation,² but a table

¹ By Micklethwaite in his classical notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel in *Archaeologia*, xlvii (1882-3), p. 374.

² I have now little doubt that this is not originally a separate image, but the right-hand side of a table representing St. Katherine in prison visited by our Lord, similar to the one in the possession of the Society (No. 61 in the *Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work*, 1910) or to the others which form part of the St. Katharine altar-piece in the church of St. Mary at Fuenterrabia (*Burlington Magazine*, xxxvi (1920), pp. 61, 62) and the church of St. Katharine at Venice (*Archaeological Journ.*, lxxvii (1910), pp. 67, 68).

in Dr. Hildburgh's collection (Loan no. 1445) shows our Lord appearing in the garden to St. Mary Magdalene in almost the same dress but carrying a spade instead of a staff. The small scale differentiates this figure at once from the others, and it appears to be rather late in date.

With the exception of the earlier table of the Ascension all the rest of the alabasters presumably belong to the second half of the fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. When the modern paint was removed, traces of the original colouring were disclosed on all the reliefs and images in varying degree; most of them show the characteristic flower decoration on the ground.

Although our English medieval carvings in alabaster do not by any means invariably reach a high level of artistic achievement, it is surely desirable that an accessible record of them should whenever possible be preserved. May I therefore take this opportunity of noting a table of the Holy Trinity which is exhibited in the very interesting little Museum of Galician Art and Antiquities at Pontevedra between Vigo and Santiago, a Museum which richly repays a visit? This table, of which I was unable to secure a photograph, is of quite normal type, about 20 by 10 in.; closely similar in almost every detail to one presented by the late Mr. Fitzhenry to the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 901—1905). It shows God the Father holding souls in a napkin with the Crucified Christ between his knees; above are two censing angels, two more angels are holding chalices under the wounds in our Lord's hands, and two are holding a single chalice under his feet. The table at Pontevedra is reasonably well preserved and has considerable traces of its original colouring. It may be supposed that it was brought to Galicia by one of the many English pilgrims to Santiago; another of whom, John Goodyear, the rector of Chale in the Isle of Wight, dedicated in the Cathedral in 1456 the complete English alabaster altarpiece with the story of St. James, which was described some years ago to the Society by Dr. Hildburgh and has been published in the *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. vi, p. 304 (July 1926).¹

¹ Since the above communication was written my attention has been called to a previous publication of the alabasters at Naworth by our former Fellow Chancellor R. S. Ferguson, read at that place in August 1879, and published in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, iv (1878-9), pp. 510-12. Mr. Ferguson states that these carvings have been variously said to have come from Kirkoswald and from Lanercost, more probably the former. The table of the Ascension is identified as the Assumption; the nun as St. Catherine; the crowned figure holding a crowned head as King Oswy; and the smaller standing figure of Christ as St. Thomas.

The Second Belgic Invasion

A Reply to Mrs. B. H. Cunningham

By CHRISTOPHER HAWKES, F.S.A., and G. C. DUNNING

'Was there', asks Mrs. Cunningham in the January number of this *Journal*,¹ 'a Second Belgic Invasion (represented by bead-rim pottery)?' The answer on her last page is that it 'remains extremely doubtful'. Her article is in fact a vigorous challenge to belief in this invasion, as maintained by us in a paper published last year, entitled 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain'.² To this paper she does not indeed allude by name, for her notice is confined to one of its six sections only. In bringing the issue here once more under discussion, we feel bound to restore this section to its context, if only to give it no more importance than its due, for there are sundry points that have thus lain outside the scope of Mrs. Cunningham's article which may nevertheless perhaps prove important in estimating the matter as a whole. We will follow her arguments in order.

She begins by accepting without reserve the equation between the Aylesford-Swarling group of pedestal-urns, with their associated material, and the Belgic invasion of Britain recorded by Caesar. Presumably she here accepts implicitly the standard dating for this invasion as propounded by Mr. Bushe-Fox,³ namely, 'not earlier than between 100 and 50 B.C., and probably rather after 75 B.C. than before it'. She then turns from south-east England to the Wessex area, and the bead-rim pottery and associated wares there present. Mr. Bushe-Fox's handling, in 1925, of the suggestion that these represent a second Belgic invasion is first noticed, and our enlargement of the same theory is then revealed as the main target of her article.

Now, the recognition of Belgic arrivals in Wessex not very long before the Roman conquest is not an idea new to the last seven years. Mrs. Cunningham (p. 28) gives in full the imposing list of excavations in Wiltshire habitation-sites from Pitt-Rivers's day to the present, many of them her own most fruitful labours. At a date well in the middle of this series, in 1911, the Catalogue of the Devizes Museum, of which she was

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, xii, pp. 27-34.

² *Archaeological Journ.*, lxxxvi, pp. 150-335.

³ *Swarling Urnfield* (Soc. Ant. Research Committee Report no. v, 1925), p. 27.

co-author, summarized her discoveries at Oare and Casterley Camp (pp. 94, 104) as distinguishing the later of two phases in the pre-Roman Iron Age of Wiltshire, and connecting it with the Belgic immigration identified at Aylesford long ago by Sir Arthur Evans. These immigrants in Wiltshire are said to have effected a 'break' in its Iron Age, and to have 'introduced the bead-rim type of pottery'.

It was, in fact, to Mrs. Cunnington's finds of this pottery at Casterley and Knap Hill, and especially in association with imported wares at Oare, that Mr. Bushe-Fox turned when he came across it at Hengistbury Head: it is defined as Class J in his Report, and dated by him 'roughly from the middle of the last century B.C. to the second half of the first century A.D.'¹ The recognized fact that the series runs on without interruption into the Roman period, when Belgae and Belgic Atrebates are found to be inhabiting the Wessex country, involves the recognition that its makers were these same Belgae in the century of La Tène III culture preceding the conquest.

In fact, all that we, following in Mr. Bushe-Fox's footsteps, have done is to take over the distinction long laid down by Mrs. Cunnington herself between an earlier phase of the Iron Age in the Wessex region (now typified by All Cannings Cross), and a later, or Belgic phase, and to seek to fix the date of the 'break', formerly undefined, in the years about 50 B.C., immediately following Caesar's conquest of Gaul, whence the Belgic immigrants must have come. It is, indeed, something of a surprise to find Mrs. Cunnington's views reversed where she has herself been so conspicuous a pioneer. We believe that the new material that has appeared since her earlier work, so far from justifying a *volte-face*, definitely strengthens her former opinion. This was what our last year's paper set out to show. We are evidently to blame for its failure, but at least we have no excuse for not trying to do better now.

We will take first the question of the pottery itself. Mrs. Cunnington's main contention is that the wheel-made bead-rim pottery is simply a development of earlier hand-made pottery native to the Wessex district. She notes (p. 27) that we recognize 'that the hand-made [bead-rim] vessel was a natural development, in this country and abroad, from earlier forms reaching from La Tène I into La Tène III times', but she takes us sharply to task for our account of the wheel-made bead-rim as due to a movement from Gaul. 'No sooner does the Briton (or the potter in Britain) presume to make use of a

¹ *Hengistbury Head* (Soc. Ant. Research Committee Report no. iii, 1915), p. 47.

wheel, than his unfortunate pots are robbed of their native parentage; and thus orphaned are obliged to seek new ancestry on the Continent, and find it in Normandy' (pp. 27-8).

Now, as she allows, we recognize the hand-made incipient bead-rim tradition in Wessex before wheel-turning came in, and point out its development from La Tène I to II (our p. 281): we notice the continuance of hand-made bead-rims in La Tène III (*ibid.*), we make it clear that La Tène III bead-rims may be hand-made just as well as wheel-made (p. 280), and urge that hand-made pottery must have continued up to mid first century A.D. (p. 282). Our point is that wheel technique and new features in tooling and zoning (either on hand- or wheel-made pots) intrude upon this in the first century B.C. in a manner suggesting immigration from abroad.

As regards the origin of this in Normandy, the antecedents of the Normandy bead-rims are set out (pp. 272 ff.), and they are explained to be normally hand-made, though the potter's wheel was introduced into Normandy early in the first century B.C. (p. 276). The rarity of the vessels there, whether hand- or wheel-made, is emphasized, because it shows that the type can have been 'in use but a short time before Caesar's conquest and the years of unrest following it, in which we may see reason to expect migration to Britain' (*ibid.*). On the other hand, we point out that bead-rims (all datable after Caesar's conquest of Gaul) are relatively dense in Britain (distribution-map, fig. 25, p. 283), and that this 'supports the idea that this type of pottery only reached its maximum development after passing from Normandy to Britain' (p. 286). It is, further, associated in Britain with a wide range of necked vessels. These are all already normal on the Continent. They are there the regular La Tène III types. But they are quite foreign to the native British ceramic traditions of Wessex before the middle of the first century B.C. (p. 282).

Thus the Late La Tène ceramic of that region, in so far as it consists of these last, is wholly intrusive: in so far as it consists of bead-rim vessels, it embodies not only the earlier native tradition of the 'incipient bead-rim' forms, but also an analogous yet distinct bead-rim tradition evolved in Belgic Gaul. The latter, in our view, was carried over to join the former by an immigration about 50 B.C., bringing with it the potter's wheel, which had begun to be current in Normandy some few decades before, but had not hitherto appeared in Wessex. This résumé of its context surely explains the passage to which Mrs. Cunnington (p. 27) so much objects on our pp. 281-2

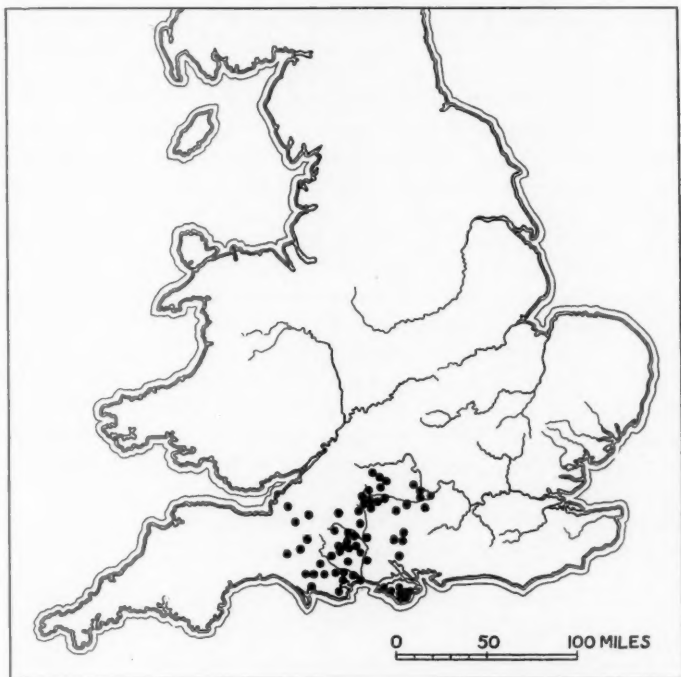
concerning our Late La Tène bead-rims and their 'incipient' predecessors. It means that it is misleading to link the two without allowing due weight to the foreign features of zoning and tooling exhibited by the later group, and to the new wheel technique that appears with it, which can only have reached Wessex from northern Gaul at this time.

Mrs. Cunningham will not have the potter's wheel accounted for by 'staging' an invasion. She points out, indeed (p. 29), that 'the first wheels were not wafted across the Channel unaccompanied', and that Gaulish merchants cannot have dumped them unexplained upon our shores. 'The first wheels must have been brought by individuals who knew how to use them.' But these, as they must not be invaders, were 'either natives returning from the Continent or Continental potters coming into this country'.

Now it is common knowledge in anthropology that the introduction of the potter's wheel—'an improvement so great and yet so simple', as our critic calls it—normally involves a barbaric community in an industrial revolution which on its small scale is of very great importance. Pot-making by hand is a domestic industry carried on by women. Pot-making on the wheel is a professional craft, practised by men. It is an instalment of specialized industrialism. It is perfectly conceivable that it might be gradually introduced into Britain in the way she suggests, were there here no other factors to take into account. But as things are, the invasion at which so many other lines of evidence point is by far the easiest explanation of its appearance. Indeed, we see that here we have Mrs. Cunningham momentarily with us, for after mentioning (p. 30) the 'pioneers of the art of wheel-turning', and deciding that 'it hardly needs a serious and far-reaching invasion to have brought them', she comes eight lines further on to think the contrary. 'To have effected the change suggested in the domestic wares over a large part of southern Britain, the country must not only have been conquered but settled. It is a commonplace that to effect a radical change in domestic pottery, nothing short of the immigration of a people bringing with them their domestic habits and customs would suffice.' Exactly: it could not have been put better. And it is not as if the change in the domestic wares were a matter of suggestion only: it is, as Mrs. Cunningham has herself taught us, a matter of fact.

However, after this her previous attitude is immediately resumed, and the pottery evidence for the 'second Belgic invasion' is once more attacked, and sharply contrasted with the

'very different and more convincing sort' of evidence for immigrant settlement in the south-east afforded by the Aylesford-Swarling type of pottery. The latter 'are confined to a fairly well-defined area, but bead-rim bowls are distributed far and wide over nearly the whole country, far outside the limits



Map of the British distribution of Bead-Rim vessels of La Tène III date and Belgic affinity (excluding those associated with the Aylesford-Swarling culture of the south-east, and comprising only those attributable to the Second Belgic Invasion)

suggested for that affected by the 'second Belgic invasion' (p. 30). But as our maps (figs. 7 and 25, pp. 189 and 283) show, there are a good half-dozen pedestal-urns of the Aylesford-Swarling family in Wessex, and bead-rims of various kinds also in the Aylesford-Swarling area. Also, the wide range of necked vessels, jars, etc., characteristic, as already recalled, of Continental Late La Tène culture in general, is associated alike with the Aylesford pedestal and the Wessex bead-rim series. The two cultures are in fact intimately allied, as Mrs. Cunnington

formerly saw, and must be interpreted on similar lines. If the native element is in proportion to the intrusive Belgic stronger in Wessex than in the south-east, it only strengthens the evidence for the difference in circumstances between the two movements from Belgic Gaul, one (the south-eastern) before its conquest by Caesar, the other (Wessex) after it.

This point, was perhaps, inadequately stressed in our paper, and we must profess our indebtedness to Mrs. Cunnington for its fuller emergence here. We shall return to it below. But we cannot understand the alleged distribution of bead-rim bowls over nearly the whole country, unless perhaps it includes the specially Romano-British class of such bowls (perhaps with its later derivatives?), which we devoted pp. 287-90 of our paper to distinguishing from the Late La Tène series of Wessex. Yet one can hardly argue from the distribution of this Roman series back to pre-Conquest times, any more than from the analogous but short-lived Roman type of pedestal-urn (our pp. 249-54).

To make the point of the true distribution clearer, we here show a distribution-map of the bead-rim bowls characteristic of Wessex in the Late La Tène period and denoting Belgic immigration. The analogous vessels associated with the Aylesford culture, and the Romanized post-Conquest series, are excluded. The compactness of the distribution is pronounced. Since our former paper was written, a number of further Wessex examples have come to our notice: they are indicated with the rest on the map, and the list of them is here appended.

Additions to List of Bead-rim Bowls in Britain. *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii, 330-5. All La Tène III.

- Berks.* Pangbourne. Reading Mus.
Prescot Park, Reading. Reading Mus.
Theale. Reading Mus.
- Dorset.* Corfe Mullen. J. B. Calkin Coll.
Hamworthy. *Proc. Dorset F. C.* lii, p. 105, fig. 7.
Milborne St. Andrew. *Ibid.* lii, p. 14, pl. v, 1-6.
Strouden, near Bournemouth. J. B. Calkin Coll.
- Hants.* Gorley Hill, Hyde. H. Sumner, *Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 56, pl. ix B, 1-7.
- I. Wight.* Lake, near Sandown. *Antiq. Journ.*, xii, p. 297.
- Somerset.* Cheddar. *Proc. Somerset Arch. Soc.*, lxxvi, 55.
- Wilts.* Westbury. Devizes Mus. (*Cat. II*, p. 79, no. 703).

If the idea of a second Belgic invasion be now provisionally entertained on these grounds, we may go on to consider its most probable date.

The Gaulish evidence entirely supports a date in or a little after the middle of the first half of the first century B.C. for the south-eastern invasion attested by the Aylesford-Swarling ware: the subsequent Belgic movement into the Wessex region must fall, on the same evidence, about the middle of that century. If it was at all earlier or later, the pottery under review would not be what it is: the material from Belgic Gaul assembled in sections II and IV of our paper really leaves no doubt on this point. The direct evidence from Wessex, in the form of associated material, is not yet very great in amount. A good deal of it,¹ as we reflected (pp. 282-3), does not go back much beyond the Claudian period. The chief exceptions are Oare and Silchester, where Arretine and other imported wares of the Augustan period were present,² datable say about 20 B.C. at earliest. There are still some decades to cover in order to reach the Gaulish date of c. 50 B.C. But many Wessex sites likely to bridge the gap are still unexamined; especially is this true of those nearer the coast than Mrs. Cunnington's own neighbourhood, for if bead-rims are dated in the Augustan period as far north as Oare and Silchester, some of those nearer the Channel must be at least as early, and should be earlier (p. 284). Admittedly imported objects referable to the years 50-20 B.C. and no earlier or later may be hard to come by! But if any argument were to be made out of their present default, it would have to vindicate the odd notion of an emigration from Gaul to Britain about 20 B.C., in the heyday of the Augustan settlement. This would indeed be an abuse of negative evidence, and we think it is easy to understand our preference for the more rational explanation of a movement about 50 B.C., especially in view of the collateral evidence shortly to be rehearsed. Mrs. Cunnington is surely going a little out of her way in interpreting us to mean that we think there has never been any appreciable excavation at all on pre-Roman sites in Wiltshire and Dorset!

We may now consider evidence other than pottery. 'Among the other objects alleged to have been brought into Wessex along with the wheel-turned pottery', we are told (p. 30), 'the La Tène III brooch cannot be taken seriously. This form of brooch is, at the period in question, found practically all over the country as well as over a large part of the Continent.' Now the classical date for the Continental appearance of these brooches is, of course, about 100 B.C., though they are not so common

¹ For list of sites see Appendix II of our paper (pp. 330-5).

² *Wilt. Arch. Mag.*, xxxvi, pp. 125-39; May, *Silchester Pottery*, pp. 6 ff., 161 ff.

before Caesar's campaigns as after. But if Mrs. Cunnington can show us a single La Tène III brooch from Britain which can be reliably dated before the Belgic invasions we are discussing, we shall be very surprised indeed. We shall also tell her it is a stray import from Gaul. The fact is, we have extraordinarily few La Tène II brooches in Britain of the Continental form from which the La Tène III brooch is derived. Our native Middle La Tène brooches, as Dr. Fox has made clear, mostly represent an insular development of our own. And when numerous La Tène III brooches of purely Continental character and parentage appear suddenly in Britain, first in the south-east along with the Aylesford-Swarling pottery, and then in Wessex along with the bead-rim pottery, one is simply bound to take them seriously. They form, in fact, an important element in the evidence for our Belgic invasions. None, so far as we know, has ever been found in an earlier context, and of all the great non-Belgic districts of the country it is only in the south-west that they make any appreciable appearance before the Roman Conquest, and none there need, we think, be much earlier than the first century A.D. In any case, it is to the Belgic areas that the great bulk of their distribution is confined.

As for British coins, Mrs. Cunnington is once more sceptical. Their 'date and place of origin', she says (p. 30), 'are still too uncertain to draw any reliable conclusions from them.' But as regards origin, the mint-mark CALLE on inscribed coins of Eppillus, the son of Commius, unquestionably stands for Calleva and means Silchester: Verulamium and Camulodunum are likewise indicated on the issues of Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus. Whether or no the famous Selsey gold finds¹ may attest the presence of a mint, we are sure it would be rash to deny that the well-known cast series of Hengistbury Head can have been produced on the spot. Here, at any rate, is the beginning of a list of British mints. The localized distributions of our coin-series have engaged the attention of numismatists for three-quarters of a century at least, and we rather shrink from sweeping their work aside as after all simply worthless.

As a matter of fact, great advances have been made in recent years in studying the distinctions between genuinely British types and those of Gaul, to which our coinage is in general affiliated. This work is well known, and it concerns not only origin but date, for since the earliest types claimed as British by Sir John Evans have been recognized as really Gaulish, the earliest possible dates for British coinage have come to coincide

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1877, pp. 309 f.

very closely with the dates we are advocating for the Belgic invasions.¹ The conclusions of outstanding numismatists can hardly, we think, be simply set aside on such grounds as that 'coins are so likely to be, and so easily are, carried about by individuals' (pp. 30-1). And as a special case of the general phenomenon of Gaulish-derived coin-types appearing in Britain at very much the same time as Gaulish-derived brooches and pottery, we have general agreement that the earliest British inscribed coins are those of the Atrebatian Commius, the importance of whose arrival from Belgic Gaul about 50 B.C. will be reverted to shortly. That no British coins seem to have been found in actual association with bead-rim pottery (p. 31) is a hard saying: the Aylesford-Swarling series contains bead-rim types, as we have seen, and one of the leading habitation-sites characterized by that series is Camulodunum, King Cunobelin's capital and mint at Colchester, now under excavation and producing both coins and pottery in abundance. In Wessex, Silchester must clearly be taken as its counterpart (our pp. 282, 294): the famous coin-site 33 at Hengistbury Head produced Class J (bead-rim) as well as other classes of pottery;² Woodcuts and Rotherley, where Pitt-Rivers found so much typical bead-rim ware, both also produced British coins;³ they have occurred at Hod Hill,⁴ and also at the Wiltshire bead-rim sites of Cold Kitchen Hill⁵ and Hanging Langford.⁶ From Winchester, where pre-Roman levels have recently yielded bead-rim pottery, several British coins have likewise been recorded.⁷

Though this evidence naturally does not come exclusively from sealed deposits, the concurrences are at any rate enough to show that British coins and bead-rim pottery are by no means poles asunder either in date or distribution. It is true that there were no coins in Mrs. Cunningham's excavations at Oare and Casterley (p. 31), but Oare was not a habitation-site but a rubbish-heap, and at Casterley not only the absence of coins, but the paucity of any other objects whatsoever associated with the bead-rim pottery was so pronounced as to call for the excavator's special comment.⁸ Neither, in fact, makes a very good negative case.

¹ *Swarling Report*, pp. 36-7.

² *Hengistbury Head Report*, pp. 24-6.

³ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, i, pp. 151-2, pl. LIV; ii, p. 188, pl. cxxiv.

⁴ Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, p. 154.

⁵ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii, p. 182, pl. III, E-F; p. 332, pl. IV, L.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xxxviii, p. 277.

⁷ *St. Catharine's Hill*, 182-6.

⁸ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xxxviii, p. 89, note.

The last purely archaeological point concerns burial-rites. In contrast to the Celts of the earlier and middle La Tène periods, the Belgae cremated: cremation, in fact, was normal in Gaul in the first century B.C. We urged that its arrival along with the bead-rim pottery complex in Wessex 'betokens the arrival of invaders', just as with the Aylesford-Swarling complex in the south-east. Mrs. Cunnington objects to this (p. 31) on the ground that though inhumation, already practised in the Late Hallstatt period, was the rule among the Celts of Early and Middle La Tène times, we have no evidence of this from Wessex, and we may therefore say that 'it is probable that cremation largely prevailed there' throughout the Iron Age. She is certainly right to refer to the mixture of customs in Hallstatt times abroad, and this seems to be reflected among the Late Hallstatt immigrants who initiated our own Iron Age. A few apparently early cremations in the Cambridge region have been recorded by Dr. Fox, who also observes an example of the transition from cremation to inhumation—a skeleton bearing marks of fire.¹ Other Hallstatt cremations have been encountered, one at Park Brow, Sussex, in an undoubtedly early pot,² and four in small barrows on King's Weston Hill near Bristol, again with definitely early pottery.³ None of these need be later than the fifth century B.C.

On the other hand, inhumation, which was probably present from the first in our earlier Iron Age culture, as on such parent Continental sites as Les Jogasses, does seem subsequently to have prevailed. We know that it was the rule in the La Tène culture of our western counties, and in that of the north-east: it is not likely that southern Britain should have remained a cremating district for some centuries while inhumation was the normal practice elsewhere in the island, as it was abroad. And in fact, despite Mrs. Cunnington's denial, examples are reasonably numerous.

Though most of the Iron Age inhumations in the Cambridge region doubtless belong to the north-eastern La Tène culture better exemplified in Yorkshire, a barrow-burial at Barrow Bottom, Suffolk, must be earlier, to judge by the associated iron spear-heads,⁴ and assignable to the same phase of culture as All Cannings Cross. To return to Wessex, Lukis found the contracted skeleton of an old man with an iron knife in the small

¹ *Arch. Cambridge Region*, pp. 79-80.

² *Antiq. Journ.* iv, p. 355 and fig. 14.

³ *Proc. Spelaeological Soc., Bristol*, II, iii, pp. 238-43.

⁴ Fox, *Arch. Cambridge Region*, pp. 76-7.

no. 3 barrow (Goddard's 8 c) on Collingbourne Ducis Cow Down.¹ The seemingly associated pottery had been scattered by the plough, but it bore finger-printing and lugs: these strongly suggest All Cannings Cross, and even relationship to the Late Bronze Age Deverel-Rimbury ware, with a piece of which in the Devizes Museum it has indeed been tentatively identified in the Catalogue.² Again, on Solsbury Hill above Bath, which is crowned by a hill-fort undoubtedly belonging to the All Cannings Cross culture,³ two superimposed contracted skeletons were found in 1906, on the edge of a quarry just below the rampart of the contemporary annexe on the north-west of the fort.⁴ The stratification was carefully studied by the discoverers, Messrs. W. G. Collins and T. C. Cantrill of the Geological Survey, who fully satisfied themselves that the interments belonged to the same period as the fort. More recently, Dr. Clay discovered a crouched inhumation-burial in the filling of pit 80 of the village excavated by him on Fifield Bavant Down,⁵ dated in La Tène I and II. And in the village excavated by the late Mr. R. W. Hooley on Worthy Down near Winchester, a symmetrically cut grave was found, containing a closely-contracted skeleton on its back.⁶ The rite showed native occupation in La Tène II, succeeded in La Tène III by Belgic: the grave produced no dating-evidence, but the rite is at all events not Belgic, and must belong to the native culture. Other burials, all in Wiltshire, which may be assigned to the pre-Belgic Iron Age, are at Casterley,⁷ near Battlesbury Camp,⁸ and at Winterbourne Stoke:⁹ all these are simple inhumations. We may perhaps add the Stonehenge burial discovered in 1923,¹⁰ and the burial of a woman and child unearthed in 1921 at St. Lawrence, Isle of Wight,¹¹ may well be contemporary. In Dorset, Professor Boyd Dawkins's excavations on Hod Hill yielded a number of crouched inhumations in the lower levels of pits,¹² stratified below occupation-floors of the latest pre-Roman and earliest Roman period, and clearly belonging to the pre-Belgic Iron Age culture. Similar burials were recorded by

¹ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* x, p. 90.

² *Devizes Mus. Cat.* p. 16, x 40 (pl. vi, 4).

³ Typical pottery and other recent finds are in the Spelaeological Museum at Bristol University.

⁴ *The Antiquary*, xlv, pp. 326 ff., 419 ff., 451 ff.

⁵ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlii, pp. 489-90.

⁶ *Proc. Hants Field Club*, x, pt. 2, pp. 181-2, 193-5.

⁷ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xxxviii, pp. 77-9.

⁸ *Ibid.* xliii, p. 344.

⁹ Private information.

¹⁰ *Antiq. Journ.* v, pp. 31-2.

¹² *Arch. Journ.* lvii, pp. 60-2.

Sir H. Dryden¹ at Hunsbury, Northampton, and the rite is identical with that of the La Tène culture of the west, examples of which need not here be quoted. The late phase of that culture represented by the Birdlip burial displays extended inhumation, instead of, or as well as, contracted, and the same thing occurs further east, as shown by the famous example at Walmer, Kent, accompanied by a pair of bronze 'spoons'.² This must belong to La Tène II; a still later case has been recognized in that curious downland block of East Sussex, which, as the Caburn excavations have shown, was never penetrated, but only influenced, by the Belgae.³

Whether the great common grave found in the corner of Spettisbury Camp, Dorset, in 1857,⁴ received its 80 or 90 skeletons according to a local or a western rite is uncertain: the two cultures seem to overlap in Dorset, but the date in this case must be a late one,⁵ and in fact inhumation was well enough rooted to survive in Wessex in La Tène III alongside of Belgic cremations. The inhumed cist-burial at Sheepwash, Isle of Wight,⁶ was accompanied by a bead-rim urn certainly of that period, and La Tène III bead-rim sherds were found, along with an iron knife and sickle, with a very similar extended burial in a clay-lined cist on Battery Hill, Winchester.⁷ Further, the inhumations found by Pitt-Rivers at Woodcuts and Rotherley⁸ must be in a native pre-Belgic tradition: in fact, this persistence of rite well attests the absorption of native elements into the Belgic culture of Wessex which we have admitted above.

It seems, then, that it is going too far to say with Mrs. Cunnington (p. 31) that 'there is a complete lack of knowledge of the burial customs prevailing in Wessex' between the Late Bronze and the Late La Tène periods of cremation. Perfectly good examples exist, and normally, as all over the Celtic world in these centuries, the rite is inhumation. The intrusion of cremation, therefore, along with La Tène III bead-rim pottery and brooches, to say nothing of the first local coinage, may quite legitimately be held to strengthen the case for a Belgic immigration, as the Belgae were definitely a cremating people.

If there is one thing that is not 'probable' about Wessex, it is a steady prevalence of cremation from the Bronze Age

¹ Quoted *ibid.*

² *Arch. Cant.* xxvi, pp. 11-12.

³ Extended skeleton in flat grave with locally-made butt-shaped pot, found in 1929 near Eastbourne: *Antiq. Journ.* xi, pp. 71-3.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st ser., iv, p. 188.

⁵ *B.M. Early Iron Age Guide*, pp. 134-5.

⁶ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxv, p. 189.

⁷ *St. Catharine's Hill*, p. 176.

⁸ *Excavations*, i, pp. 35-6; ii, pp. 191-8.

onwards to Roman times. Yet this is the only alternative advanced to our contention that cremation in La Tène III was brought in by Belgic invaders.

'That many Gaulish fugitives came to Britain at and after this period need not be doubted, but that they were sufficiently organized, and able to make large conquests, is not to be credited without stronger evidence than that afforded by the bead-rim pottery in Wessex.' So says our critic (pp. 31-2); we have now seen that the archaeological evidence for effective immigration is in fact much stronger taken all together than the ceramic part of it alone, though even that is not exactly negligible. It leads us to believe that there was immigration, and that it had a pronounced effect on the culture of the country in all its recognizable aspects. But, we are told, the immigrants, though doubtless 'many', must have been disunited, disorganized, and unwarlike: certainly no match for the natives. Well, archaeology has had its say: the potters with their wheels were evidently not the only arrivals, nor was the effect of the movement confined to their craft. Are we able to say more?

We need not here review again the march of events in Gaul after the surrender of Alesia in 52 B.C.¹ The first few years saw furious fighting again and again, especially in the Belgic north, and everywhere, as Hirtius tells us,² men were abandoning their homes in town and country alike rather than submit to the Roman yoke, for Caesar and his lieutenants were mercilessly thorough. No reader of the *Gallic War* needs to be reminded of Ambiorix, Drappes, Lucterius, or Commius to be aware that these fugitives were desperate men. The last stand of Uxellodunum was not made by weaklings.

It was not for nothing that the Belgae boasted themselves the best fighting men in Gaul; witness the tremendous effort made by the Bellovaci, the Atrebates, and their neighbours in 51, after the heavy losses they had suffered since the beginning of the war, and especially at Alesia the year before; likewise their renewal of the struggle, after crushing defeat, once more in 46. Their chieftain Correus is described as 'nulla calamitate victus';³ his ally Commius is one of the outstanding figures of the whole war after Vercingetorix himself, and it was he who at last sent in his hostages, following on many months of adventurous guerrilla warfare, only on condition that he should never again

¹ Section IV of our paper (pp. 263 ff.).

² *Bell. Gall.* viii, 24, 1: 'ex oppidis demigrare, ex agris diffugere ad praesens imperium evitandum.'

³ *Bell. Gall.* viii, 19, 8.

be brought face to face with a Roman.¹ When we read how broken men all over Gaul rallied in these years to such leaders, and what a desperately fine fight they put up, we can hardly share Mrs. Cunningham's opinion that conquests in Britain were beyond their powers. All they wanted was leadership, and that in Commius they most emphatically had. The men who filled his ships when he set sail for Britain² were assuredly the sort to win new kingdoms by the sword.

But here our reading of the history has a new obstacle to encounter. It is suggested (pp. 31, 34) that the Wessex area was then already inhabited by 'people of Belgic affinities', and that this kinship explains Commius' success—the fact of which is not gainsaid—in establishing himself as their ruler. Now Commius had represented himself to Caesar in 55 B.C. as a man of influence in the regions of Britain he then proposed to invade, namely the south-eastern district of the Aylesford-Swarling culture, which really was already Belgic. But actually, on his arrival there as an envoy from Caesar, he was flung into chains and only released after Caesar's first success in the field.³ Evidently he was anything but popular among people who are admitted to have been his fellow-Belgae in Britain; the argument that relations should necessarily be friends is surely a dangerous one. But five years later it was not in the Aylesford-Swarling district, but in Wessex, that he established himself. Can the inhabitants there be believed Belgic also?

The Belgic homeland, taken at its broadest, is the great tract of country between the middle and lower Rhine and the Marne and Seine. It is necessary then to find, at some time before 50 B.C., a migration from that country to Wessex of people who can reliably be called Belgic. If the Belgae invaded Wessex at the same time as the south-east of Britain, we should find a full-blown Aylesford-Swarling culture there, which we do not. They must then have done so earlier. But a study of the history and archaeology of Belgic origins shows that the movements and fusions of Germanic and Celtic peoples that formed the Belgae as we know them took place not earlier than the years 150–125 B.C.⁴ And no Continental material datable between those years and the Aylesford-Swarling immigration is known to exist in Britain. We must then push the identity of

¹ *Ibid.* 48, 9.

² Frontinus' account (*Strat.* ii, 13, 1) shows that he was not escaping as a single fugitive: he gives his orders to a regular fleet.

³ *Bell. Gall.* iv, 21, 7–8; 27, 2–4.

⁴ See our Sections I and II, pp. 157–82, 183–240.

the Belgae as a distinctive group back before the movements which gave them the only formation we know them to have had, and—to make a risky proceeding riskier—must push it back an exceedingly long way. For the continuity of Wessex Iron Age culture before the first century B.C. is such that the idea of an immigration is inadmissible until we get back to the arrival of the All Cannings Cross people, at the latest in the fifth century. In view of her remarks on the Wiltshire pottery-sequence in *All Cannings Cross*¹ Mrs. Cunington must surely agree with this. The only possible conclusion, then, is that the All Cannings Cross people were generically Belgae, and some of them specifically Atrebates: that these names go back to the great migrations and fusions of peoples in the Late Hallstatt period, and that four centuries or more later the population of Wessex remembered this, and made Commius their king in consequence when he arrived 'in distressed circumstances' from Gaul.

Now there is nothing inherently impossible in the descent of group or tribal names from the Hallstatt period, in spite of intervening folk-movements. But still, as we have said, it is risky: the philologists might have something to say. And in this case it has particular risks of its own. For while we grant that the peoples who arrived in Britain in and at the end of the Late Hallstatt period did come from various parts of the country known centuries later as Belgic Gaul, the same country then also gave birth to other movements in other directions. In fact, it was there that the whole series of historical Celtic migrations first began. In particular, the Late Hallstatt migration from the lower Rhine to the Pyrenees and northern Spain is an exactly analogous and more or less contemporary movement to that which reached Britain from the same district. The Spanish Celts and the Aquitanian Gauls should therefore be Belgic, and all the ethnological landmarks we have would come toppling about our ears.

We must confess that in the present state of our knowledge we shrink from such revolutionary notions. It will be very interesting if evidence begins at any time to appear in their support. But in default of that, our adherence to more orthodox ideas is surely safer. In short, when historical considerations are added to the weight of the archaeological material, the second Belgic invasion can hardly be said to remain 'extremely doubtful'.

Of course, such an invasion and conquest could never imply the total extinction or expulsion of the conquered. In this case

¹ Pp. 194-7.

it is especially unlikely that the invaders brought many women and children. They were in different circumstances from the earlier Belgic conquerors of the south-east, though there too native survival is apparent to some extent (our p. 255). In Wessex we have already stressed its traces in the pottery and the burial-rites of the Belgic culture. Such fusions are of the essence of barbarian life.

But one misunderstanding remains to be cleared up. As one of us found when engaged last year on an article for *Antiquity*,¹ the pre-Belgic and Belgic periods of our Iron Age differ markedly in the distribution of hill-forts. The forts assignable to the former cover most of the uplands of Southern Britain then in occupation, but in the latter a concentration is apparent near the edges of the territory held by the invaders. Evidently most of the citadels of the little tribal groups of the earlier culture were deserted when the larger Belgic kingdoms were formed. This is surely natural, and well emphasizes the discontinuity which the invasions brought about. 'The hill-fort is serving its purpose now practically only on the frontiers of the lands the invaders had seized.'² The Cambridge region, close to the Belgic-Icenian frontier, certainly seems a case in point, while in Wessex the hill-forts from which any evidence is available are definitely restricted to a quite narrow belt running across the county from the Berkshire to the Dorset Downs.³

These observations were somewhat enlarged on in our paper, but in so doing we took it for granted that no reader would imagine the use of the word 'frontier' to connote a hard and fast line like a modern county boundary, marked out from each hill-fort to the next. The sort of frontier we had in mind was not amenable to Mrs. Cunningham's criticism (p. 32), 'what a difficult frontier to demarcate or to hold, shaped as it must have been like forked lightning,' nor to her successive accusations (p. 33) of swooping, leaping, switching, and plunging. We explained what we meant by using the phrase 'fortified march'. That is, as hill-fortifications imply warfare, and as here their distribution fringes the territory of invaders, the warfare implied is frontier warfare, and the frontier a belt of 'marcher' land where invaders and invaded were liable to harry each other. In fact, in stigmatizing our frontier as 'nebulous' (p. 32), our critic has exactly caught the impression we intended to convey.

¹ 'Hill-forts': *Antiquity*, v, pp. 60 ff., quoted in our paper, p. 299.

² *Ibid.* 93.

³ The distribution-map, which first appeared in *Antiquity*, v, 91, as fig. 14, was reproduced as fig. 29 in our paper, p. 301.

However, we have to justify the inclusion in it of a number of hill-forts whence the dating evidence is called in question. At Oldbury Camp it is admittedly slender, but the piece of a grey wheel-made pedestalled vessel, found in addition to earlier Iron Age pottery in a pit-dwelling there in 1890, seems to combine with a La Tène III brooch, also in the Devizes Museum,¹ to point to Belgic as well as earlier occupation, though of course there is no question of dating the actual earth-work.

Oliver's Camp, we are told, has yielded no wheel-turned bead-rim pottery. But Belgic bead-rim ware, as we have explained, may just as well be hand-made as wheel-made, and this site was included on the strength of Mrs. Cunnington's own excavations of 1908. In these, coarse gritty finger-printed pottery (of Late Bronze-Early Iron Age type) was found *under* the rampart, and likewise in trenching the interior; but here was also found 'Late Celtic' ware, and it was this that was associated with the earthworks. 'Wheel-made Late Celtic pottery', so described by Mr. St. George Gray, was found at various levels in the ditch, and of the two 'Late Celtic' sherds found in the body of the rampart, one was described as 'probably wheel-made' and the sort that might be Romano-British.² This certainly indicates occupation, if not actual construction, in the latest pre-Roman period, in those days called 'Late Celtic': that is, in the Belgic period as now interpreted. The earlier settlement (with the coarse gritty pottery) would thus have been unfortified.

At Battlesbury Camp the eleven pits opened some years ago in the interior produced no All Cannings Cross or finger-printed pottery, but unmistakable bead-rim ware (in this case 'all, or nearly all, hand-made'),³ and rotary as well as saddle querns. In describing the finds,⁴ Mrs. Cunnington mentioned 'later waves of immigration from the Continent' as not improbably in part responsible for the contrast of the pottery with that of All Cannings Cross, and concluded that the evidence suggested an occupation not long preceding the Roman conquest. We could hardly ignore this testimony to La Tène III Belgic occupation.

¹ *Devizes Mus. Cat.* pt. ii, p. 41, no. 314 (pl. xxiii, 1); pottery, *ibid.*, pp. 95-6, nos. 838-47. We regret that the pedestalled vessel (no. 841) was accidentally omitted from our list (Appendix I), where it should have followed the example from Oare (*Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xxxvi. 132, pl. v, F) on p. 329.

² *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xxxv, pp. 416 ff., 426 ff.

³ *All Cannings Cross*, p. 195.

⁴ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlii, pp. 368-9.

Winkelbury Camp, which bears a resemblance to Oliver's Camp,¹ was excavated by Pitt-Rivers, whose evidence certainly shows that the internal area was occupied in the pre-Belgic Iron Age:² his 'quality no. 1' (coarse gritty) and 'quality no. 2' (superior but still hand-made) pottery certainly belong to it, as does his 'quality no. 3' (with oolite grains), and these were to a large extent characteristic of the site. But in the sections of the defences, while this earlier pottery was found *beneath* the rampart, the actual body of it was found³ to contain two pieces of 'quality no. 4'—hard black ware, apparently mostly wheel-turned, and approaching but not identical with Romano-British. The ditch also produced eleven pieces of this quality from its lower silt, as well as eight from its upper stratum and two on its inner slopes. Also, in the ditch at the junction of the inner cross rampart and the main rampart on the east, twenty-seven pieces were found (90 per cent. of the whole find there),⁴ and others in the pits outside the camp on the east and south.⁵

The General would certainly not have ascribed the defences of Winkelbury to a date earlier than the 'quality no. 4 pottery': his actual conclusions concerning date were tentative ('probably pre-Roman') but by his magnificently detailed account of his work, and his preservation of material at the Farnham Museum, he has now enabled a closer dating to be fixed. One of us first pointed out on this evidence in 1930 that the defences must have been built in La Tène III enclosing an earlier unfortified settlement,⁶ and repeated it in his *Antiquity* paper of last year⁷: these references were both given when the point was again mentioned in our article (p. 300). Since then he has been enabled, through the kindness of the Curator, the Hon. Helen Tomlin, to examine the Winkelbury material in the Farnham Museum: the 'quality no. 4' pottery from the crucial section III is, as was obvious from the description, certainly of La Tène III date, and the defences must thus belong to the Belgic period.

Casterley Camp, prolific of Belgic bead-rim pottery, is admittedly not a very typical hill-fort (we called it a 'fortified enclosure', p. 300): but it is a fortified plateau site, whose peculiarities are obviously due to its Belgic origin, as one of us suggested last year.⁸ Hanging Langford Camp, where occupa-

¹ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxxv, p. 414.

² *Excavations*, ii, pp. 233 ff.

³ In section III, *op. cit.* p. 245, and relic-table, p. 271.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 246, 274.

⁶ *St. Catharine's Hill*, pp. 78, 166.

⁷ *Antiquity*, v, p. 92.

⁸ *Ibid.* v, p. 90.

tion continued from La Tène (Belgic) into Roman times, certainly exhibits formidable, if incomplete, defences of hill-fort character,¹ which one would not expect to find outside a district especially liable to disturbance.

Mrs. Cunningham does not contest any sites outside Wiltshire, and we think we have said enough to make clear our meaning with regard to this hill-fort frontier belt, and to enable the reader to judge for himself the validity of our primary authorities. She is quite wrong to suspect us of suggesting that the Hengistbury Head ramparts are of Belgic date: we only said there was Belgic settlement behind them. The 'strong contrast' we mentioned (p. 300) between Belgic and pre-Belgic times in the countryside generally is simply due to the disappearance, already alluded to, of so many hill-forts. To say that (away from the frontier belt) there were no hill-forts after the Belgic invasion is not, as she appears to suggest, to imply that there was nothing but hill-forts before it. And of the open villages existing before, a large number certainly were deserted at the period of the invasion: a full list of those sites of the earlier Iron Age culture known to us in 1930 will be found in *St. Catharine's Hill*, pp. 163-7, and by comparing this with the list of sites producing Belgic bead-rim pottery given as Appendix II of our paper (pp. 330-5), it is easy to see that the evidence of discontinuity well exceeds that of continuity. Mrs. Cunningham does well to remind us that 'from time to time villages evidently were deserted for reasons not known to us,' and that All Cannings Cross must be a case in point, but is there any reason to believe that a site like Fifield Bavant was deserted before 50 B.C.? Dr. Clay's report certainly presented a full La Tène II series, and La Tène II culture in Wessex as in the rest of Southern Britain was only superseded by La Tène III in consequence of the Belgic immigrations. A site where there is continuity, like Worthy Down, illustrates the point well: the La Tène II culture of its earlier occupants must have been still flourishing between 100 and 50 B.C.—the material in one pit is even associated with a Gaulish La Tène III bead,² which obviously got there during that half-century—and yet the pottery and its decoration are in all respects similar to what was found at Fifield Bavant. Still, this sort of argument can really only be settled by excavating all the sites everywhere, and comparing all their material. Doubtless even so there would be

¹ *Wessex from the Air*, pp. 116-18, pl. xvii.

² *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, x, pt. ii, p. 184 (pl. vi, 48); cf. Déchelette, *Manuel*, II, iii, p. 1321.

differences of opinion, but the evidence we have is already relatively plentiful, and we cannot well ignore its significance.

These latter paragraphs have been something of an appendix, but we do not think our main position now needs repeating. Time will inevitably modify many current assertions. But we believe that the notion of a Second Belgic Invasion of Britain is well and truly founded, and will survive the incidental mistakes, alike of its opponents and its advocates.

The International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences

THE first session of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences was held in London from 1st to 6th August 1932 under the presidency of Sir Charles Peers, P.S.A. Of the 519 Members and 101 Associates, about 500 were able to be present at the meetings which were held in King's College, Strand. The organization was carried out by a representative Committee of British Archaeologists appointed on the initiative of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Anthropological Institute. The Congress had the approval of His Majesty's Government, by whom an invitation to nominate delegates was extended to the Governments of the Foreign Powers and of the British Dominions and Colonies. The invitation was accepted, and delegates were appointed, by Algeria (M. Reygasse), Austria (Prof. Menghin), Belgium (Prof. Colette, Prof. Fraipont), Colombia (H.E. Don Alfonso Lopez), Czechoslovakia (Prof. Babor), Denmark (Dr. J. Brøndsted, Dr. H. Kjaer), Dutch East Indies (Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels), Ecuador (M. E. L. Andrade), France (Prof. Boule, Prof. Breuil, M. Lantier, Prof. Rivet, Prof. Vaufrey), Germany (Dr. Bersu, Dr. Sprockhoff, Prof. Schwantes [Prussia], Prof. Unverzagt, Dr. Zeiss), Greece (H.E. M. D. Caclamanos), Holland (Dr. A. E. van Giffen, Prof. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan), Irish Free State (Dr. A. Mahr), Italy (Prof. P. Ducati, Prof. N. Puccioni, Prof. U. Rellini, Prof. G. Sera), Latvia (Prof. Balodis), Lithuania (General Nagevicius), Malta (Dr. Sir T. Zammit), Mexico (Senor C. Reyes Spinola), Nicaragua (Dr. B. Sotomayor), Northern Ireland (Mr. D. E. Chart), Norway (Dr. A. W. Brøgger), Poland (Dr. Antoniewicz), Spain (Prof. H. Obermaier, Prof. P. Bosch Gimpera), Switzerland (Prof. P. Vouga), Syria (M. Dunand), Turkey (Dr. Aziz Sevket Bey), and the United States of America (Dr. R. J. Spinden, Dr. R. B. Dixon, Dr. C. E. Guthe, Dr. A. V. Kidder, Prof. G. G. MacCurdy, Dr. N. C. Nelson).

The invitations issued by the British Organizing Committee resulted in a large representation from Universities and learned Societies both of Europe and of the rest of the world, and even this number would have been greater but for the general financial difficulties which rendered impossible the active participation of many scholars.

The Congress opened on the afternoon of Monday, 1st August, with a general business meeting followed by the Presidential Address, on the beginnings of Prehistoric Studies in Britain. This address traced the gradual evolution of modern methods of the study of Antiquity, starting with Camden and following the ever-changing systems employed and results obtained by his successors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the same evening the Delegates and Members were received at Lancaster House on behalf of His Majesty's Government by the Right Honourable W. Ormsby Gore, First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works and Public Buildings. The following days were devoted to sectional discussions with the exception of the evening meetings, at which lectures on general aspects of British Archaeology were delivered. A final business meeting was held on Saturday morning after which those Members who took part in the excursions left for Oxford and Cambridge.

In connexion with the Congress a special Exhibition illustrating recent work in British Archaeology was held at the London Museum by permission of the Trustees. The aim of this Exhibition, which was arranged by the Keeper, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, was to display a representative series of British material in its proper archaeological perspective. A handbook to British Archaeology was issued by the Organizing Committee, so that Members using this in conjunction with the series displayed at the London Museum might most easily be able to realize the latest advances in British Archaeology. In conjunction with the special Exhibition a display of Ordnance Survey Maps and Air Photographs was arranged by the Archaeology Officer, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, on behalf of the Director-General.

The Organizing Committee decided at an early stage that it was essential adequately to present to the Congress certain important aspects of British Archaeology, and the meetings in the evenings and on Saturday morning were reserved for this purpose. On Tuesday Dr. Cyril Fox discussed the Personality of Britain and its Influence on Invaders. He emphasized the essential difference between the Highland and the Lowland Zone and examined the influences of physical geography on the various groups of invaders between the late Neolithic Period and the Dark Ages. On the following evening Mr. E. T. Leeds presented the Celtic Art of Britain. He traced its rise in the Early Iron Age, analysing the different schools and following its development in Northern Britain during the earlier part of the

Romano-British Age. A temporary eclipse in the third and fourth centuries was succeeded by a renaissance in the Dark Ages. On Friday Mr. T. D. Kendrick examined the Crafts in Early Britain and discussed the effects obtained and the methods employed by the workers of the Saxon Periods. The final lecture on Saturday morning was given by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, whose subject was Air Photography and Archaeology. Both the methods employed and the results obtained were considered. This lecture, in conjunction with the display at the London Museum, proved to all present the value of this branch of study, and demonstrated the high level of attainment already reached.

The General Programme was divided among seven sections and sub-sections before which nearly 200 communications were presented. The full list of these will be printed in the *Compte Rendu* which will be published by the Organizing Committee during the coming year. At present it is only possible to indicate a few of the results obtained during the session.

Section I under the presidency of Sir Arthur Smith Woodward was devoted to Human Palaeontology. From England the President contributed new data concerning the Piltdown Man and Prof. Elliot Smith discussed the skull from Lloyd's Building. On Friday afternoon Members were invited to tea at the Royal College of Surgeons, where Sir Arthur Keith exhibited a series of skeletons belonging to the Beaker Folk. The work of the Istituto Italiana de Paleontologia Umana was described by Prof. Puccioni; Prof. Boule and Prof. Vallois presented a report on the fossil men of Afalou bou Rhummel, and Sir Arthur Keith and Dr. McCown summarized the latest evidence of the recent Mousterian skeleton from Palestine. The Oldeway types and their survival into historical Egyptian and modern times were discussed by Prof. Weidenreich.

The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Periods were covered by Section II over which Mr. Reginald Smith presided. The English contributions included a series of local studies, while Mr. J. G. D. Clark presented a general survey of the Mesolithic Age in Britain, a subject also illustrated by Prof. E. Erdtmann's pollen-analytic examination of the North Sea moorlog. Prof. Breuil's communication on the Cave Paintings set forward a system of classification based on the results hitherto obtained. The evidence for the occupation of Sweden at the end of the glacial epoch was discussed by Prof. Niklassen while Dr. Keller Tarnuzzer and Prof. Mendes Correa examined the general problems of the Mesolithic Age in Switzerland and

Portugal. North African problems were discussed by Prof. Vaufrey and M. Reygasse. The recent expedition to the Kharga Oasis was illustrated not only by Miss Caton Thompson's Report but by the Exhibition at Bedford College which was opened on Tuesday, 2nd August, when Miss Caton Thompson entertained the Members to tea. Discoveries from the Levant and East Africa were illustrated by communications from Miss Garrod, Dr. Sandford, Dr. Leakey, and Messrs. Burkitt and Wayland. Contributions sent by Prof. Efimenko and Prof. Petri summarized recent discoveries in European Russia and Siberia. The archaeological horizon of Peking Man was examined by Prof. Breuil.

Section III A, presided over by Prof. H. J. Fleure, dealt with the Neolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Ages of northern and western Europe. The English material presented included communications on Avebury (Mr. St. George Gray), Timber Circles (Mrs. Cunnington), Bryn Celli Ddu (Mr. W. J. Hemp), Windmill Hill (Mr. A. Keiller), Neolithic Earthworks in Sussex (Dr. E. C. Curwen), and Neolithic Pottery (Mr. S. Piggott). From Ireland, Prof. Macalister discussed the Horned Cairns and Mr. H. G. Leask the Ornamented Stones of the Bronze Age, while the comparative material from Brittany was presented by M. Le Rouzic and Prof. C. D. Forde. The Late Bronze Age dwellings at Jarlshof, Shetland, were illustrated by Mr. A. O. Curle. A paper by Dr. G. Bersu examined the relationship of excavations and museums. Recent discoveries in Sweden were summarized by Prof. T. J. Arne.

Section III B, under the presidency of Mr. Sidney Smith, covered the same periods in the near East. The communications by Prof. Menghin on the excavations at Benisalâme and Prof. Childe on newly discovered Oriental metal implements threw new light on the chronology of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in Europe. Syrian discoveries were presented by M. Dunand, who discussed the Copper Age at Byblos, and M. Schaeffer, who reported the Mycenaean finds from Ras Shamra. Sir Flinders Petrie examined the racial problems of Palestine, and Father Koepfel communicated the report of the excavations at Tell Ghassul. More recent finds from this region included the ivories from Arslan, Tash, and Samaria, shown by M. Dunand and Mr. Crowfoot. Dr. Frankfort's analysis of the elements in pre-Sargonic Mesopotamia was one of several papers in which the earliest periods in this area were discussed, and which included Dr. C. L. Woolley's statement of the chronological data concerning the early graves of Ur. In the

Aegean world Sir Arthur Evans examined the relations between Knossos and Mycenae, while the communications of Dr. Dikaïos (Cyprus) and Miss Lamb (Lesbos) illustrated the Early Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. Mr. Heurtley's summary of Prehistoric Macedonia had points of contact with the Danubian problems discussed by Prof. Vassits and M. Vulpe. The importance of the exploration of the intervening region was recognized by the appointment of a special committee to co-ordinate this work.

Prof. Myres presided over Section IIIc which covered Central Europe and the Western Mediterranean. The problems of the Danube Basin were discussed in a series of papers by, among others, Prof. Dumitrescu, who examined the aeneolithic culture of Wallachia, Dr. Tompa who presented a summary of Hungarian problems, and Dr. J. Boehm who put forward the evidence for the discovery of Aunjetitz fibulae. Dr. Vouga reported recent work on the Swiss Lake Dwellings. From Italy Prof. Rellini presented communications dealing with the problems of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages. The Villanovan culture was examined by Prof. Ducati and other Iron Age material by Prof. Ghislanzoni and Dr. Anna Roes.

The Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages outside the Ancient World formed Section IV of which the Presidents were Prof. C. G. Seligman and Dr. H. S. Harrison. Indian cultures were represented by communications on burials from Raigir and the Deccan. Prof. Seligman and Mr. Beck discussed certain Chinese Beads and Prof. Shellshear described a new type of pottery from Southern China. The Ainu remains of Japan were examined by Dr. Gordon Munro. Dr. Harrison and Mr. H. Balfour presented communications on implements from the Solomon Islands and Tasmania.

The latest Prehistoric Age and its passage into history were covered by Section V under the presidency of Mr. E. T. Leeds. Different aspects of the Celtic problem were raised by the papers of Mr. de Navarro, Dr. Nicolaescu Plopsor, and Mr. I. C. Peate, while the Picts were discussed by Prof MacNeill. Mr. Hawkes presented a more general picture of the English Iron Age, while Dr. H. O'N. Hencken examined the evidence for the early Cornish tin trade. Scottish material was presented by Mr. J. H. Craw who re-examined the chronology of the brochs, and Prof. Childe who reported his recent excavations at Castlewart. Dr. Brøgger discussed the limits of habitation during the Norwegian Iron Age, while Dr. Brøndsted and Dr. Kjaer presented the evidence for certain aspects of Danish

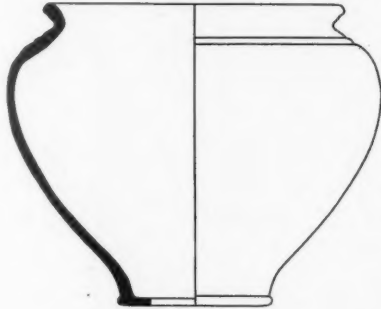
culture during the Roman period. The problems of the English Dark Ages were treated by Mr. Leeds (the Saxon penetration of the Upper Thames), and Mr. Lethbridge (cemeteries in the Cambridge region), while the comparative material from the Low Countries and Germany was presented by Prof. van Giffen (the excavation at Ezinga), and Prof. Roeder (recent finds in Continental Saxon cemeteries). The Viking movements were examined by Dr. H. Shetelig and their interrelation with the peoples beyond the Baltic were illustrated by Prof. Balodis's account of recent work on this period in Latvia. Further material bearing on these problems was presented in General Nagevicius's account of the excavation at Appoul and Prof. Schwantes's summary of the work at Haithabu.

An excursion to Swanscombe on Thursday, 4th August, formed part of the programme of Sections I and II and enabled Members to examine *in situ* the evidence for the early settlements of the Lower Thames. After the final business meeting, excursions to Oxford, Cambridge, and Wiltshire were arranged. Some seventy-five Members took part in these and were able to visit a representative series of prehistoric sites including Stonehenge, Avebury, Windmill Hill, Wayland's Smithy, Rollright and Yarnbury. These excursions also included visits to further palaeolithic sites in the Cambridge region and to Museums at Cambridge, Oxford, and in Wiltshire whereby the Members were able to study the material from the sites visited. The whole was carried out in fine weather.

The second session of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences will be held in Oslo in 1936 under the presidency of Dr. A. W. Brøgger. The General Secretaries are Prof. J. L. Myres, Dr. S. Greig and Dr. J. Bøe. The Treasurer is Dr. Engelstad.

Notes

Iron Age pot from Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon Common.—Mr. G. C. Dunning sends the following :—The pot here illustrated, now in the London Museum, was found a few years ago in Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon Common; no details of its discovery are known. The pot is a pear-shaped bowl with wide mouth, thick everted rim slightly squared on



Pot from Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon ($\frac{1}{2}$)

the outer edge, low cordon below the neck, and beaded flat base. It is wheel-turned, of fairly hard grey ware with sparse grit; the surface is coated with a smooth dark brown slip, and is caked with soot round the rim. The type clearly belongs to the pedestal-urn culture, and may be compared with Swarling types 9 and 12 (*Swarling Report*, pp. 10, 25-6). The thick rim and flat base are late features, and the pot may be referred to the early first century A.D., probably about 30 A.D. Caesar's Camp, a roughly circular enclosure of 12 acres, is defended by two ramparts and a single ditch. Descriptions of the camp are in the *Archaeological Journal*, xxiii, 261; *V.C.H. Surrey*, iv, 389-90; and in D. C. Whimster, *Archaeology of Surrey*, pp. 116-17.

Roman finds in London.—Mr. G. C. Dunning sends the following notes on recent finds in London, now in the Guildhall Museum :—

Fig. 1. From the site of nos. 129-30 Upper Thames Street.

An oculist's stamp of greenish stone, which Dr. H. H. Thomas, F.R.S., has kindly identified as steatite. The inscriptions on the sides are cut retrograde in good Roman capitals, as follows :—

1. C SILVI TETRICI DIAMISVS AD DIATHES[ES] ET CICAT
[RICES].

Gaius Silvius Tetricus's remedy for eye-diseases and weals.

2. C SILVI TETRICI BIPROSOPVM AD IMPE[TVM].

The same maker's application for inflammation of the eyes.

3. C SILVI TETRICI EVODES AD ASPRITVDINES.

The same maker's fragrant lotion for granulations.

4. C SILVI TETRICI PENCILL[E] AD IMPET[VM] LIPPITYDIN[ES].

The same maker's ointment for attacks of conjunctivitis.

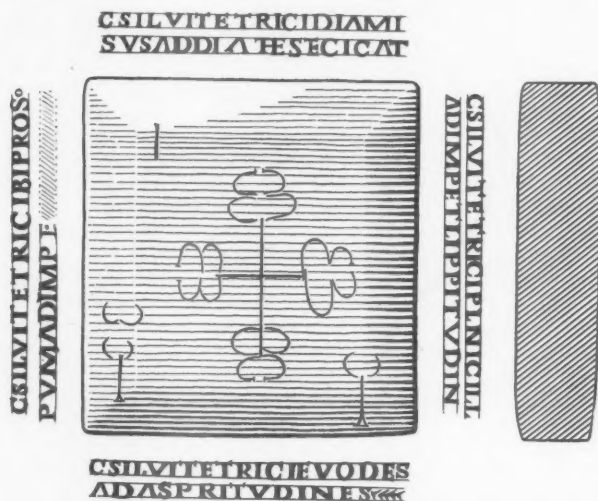


FIG. 1. Oculist's stamp from Upper Thames Street, with readings of the inscriptions ($\frac{1}{2}$)

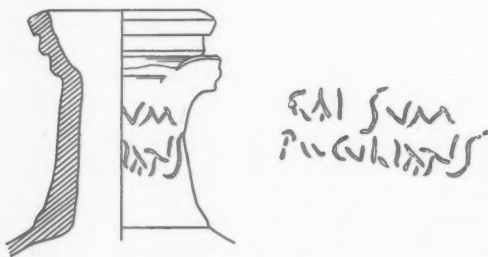


FIG. 2. Neck of flagon, with inscription, from King William Street ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Two words require further explanation. *Biprosopum*: Mr. R. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., suggests this is a Latinized form of διπρόσωπον (two-faced), that is, a preparation which might be used in two forms,

either as ointment or drops. *Pencille*: this ointment, as its name implies, was probably applied with a swab in order adequately to reach the part affected (the conjunctiva).

The curious design like a cross is lightly scratched on the middle of both faces. The similar marks in the corners are on one face only.

This is the first oculist's stamp to be found in London, and is one of the most perfect of some twenty found in Britain. Reference may be made to the following: Espérandieu, *Signacula Medicorum Oculariorum* (1904) = *C.I.L.*, XIII, pt. 3, 10021; *Revue des Musées* (1927), pp. 314, 343, 373, (1929) p. 135; C. J. S. Thompson, *Roman Oculists' Medicine Stamps and Collyria* (1925); and R. R. James, *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, March 1926.

Thanks are due to Mr. John Charlton for help in writing this note.

Fig. 2. Neck of flagon found in tunnelling 30 ft. below the surface near the lower end of King William Street for a new escalator and subway between the Bank and Monument stations. Other pottery found at the same time includes part of a Samian bowl form 29 stamped MAC·RI·NA inside the base, and a carinated bowl of grey ware similar to *Arch.*, lxvi, 250, fig. 15, no. 20.

The flagon is of buff ware with a short three-ringed mouth, and may be dated about 100 A.D. It is remarkable for the graffito in cursive letters, deeply incised round the neck when the clay was soft: GAI SVM PECVLARIS, 'I am the property of Gaius'. A list of graffiti on pottery found in London is given in *Roman London* (Roy. Com. Hist. Mon.), pp. 176-7.

The Town-wall of Glevum.—Mr. G. C. Dunning sends the following:—Two years ago, at the suggestion of Mr. W. H. Knowles, a Roman Research Committee was formed for the purpose of collating all that is known of Roman Gloucester, and to conduct excavations on the line of the town-wall. So far, six sections have been cut at various points along the S.E. and S.W. sides of the town, where the wall runs roughly parallel to Brunswick Road and Parliament Street. The town-wall is about 6 ft. wide and the lowest courses are built of large dressed stones, up to 2 ft. square and from 2 to 4 ft. in length. The upper part or, in places, the whole of the wall was rebuilt in medieval times on approximately the same line.

At Dr. Wheeler's suggestion the southern angle, in the grounds of the Crypt Grammar School, was trenched in April 1932, with the object of finding an internal corner-turret, and dating the town-wall. The excavation was entirely successful.

The lowest courses and inner face of the Roman town-wall were intact inside the turret; outside, the wall had been robbed down to the foundations and rebuilt in medieval times. The turret was of one build with the town-wall; internally it measured 15 ft. in width and 13 ft. in depth from the inner face of the town-wall. The walls of the turret remained to a height of 9 ft. with an offset on both sides about 7 ft. above

the base, reducing the walls to 3 ft. 4 in. in thickness. They were well built of Lias stone set in hard mortar, and faced on both sides. The east wall of the turret had been largely destroyed in medieval times, and the material used to build two walls of an approach to the later town-wall. The turret had been destroyed below floor-level, but a great part of the original filling remained. A rampart of mixed material resting on a thick layer of clay was piled up against the outside of the turret and along the inside of the town-wall. The pottery found in the filling of the turret and in the rampart is all late first century, not later than 100 A.D. The dating evidence is consistent with the inference that Gloucester was walled at the time it became a *colonia* under Nerva.

Pottery of the early Iron Age was unexpectedly found in two excavations, in the original soil, a grey loam, beneath the Roman deposits. A rim of Hallstatt type with finger-tip decoration was found below the rampart outside the turret, and sherds of La Tène III in a section of the town-wall dug by boys of the Crypt Grammar School.

An account of the structures appeared in *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, vol. 53, pp. 267-83; the pottery will be published in the following volume.

An Anglo-Saxon bronze mount from Norway.—The following description is contributed by Mr. Johs. Bøe of Bergen Museum:—

Through the kind assistance of Mr. Rasmus Buset, Ålesund, the Bergen Museum has recently acquired an object which we believe to be of some interest to students of English archaeology. The object is figured in full size here. It is made of cast bronze, and measures 7.2 cm. at its widest but only 1-2 mm. in thickness. It is perfectly preserved though broken in two places in one corner by the workmen. The back is quite plain except for some sketchy lines in the patina probably made after the piece was unearthed. Under the green patina there seem to be traces of a coating of white metal. The surface is covered with a bright and strong gilding except on the top of the knots or rivet-heads where it is now fallen off. The rivets, of which one is now missing, are hammered flat from below, but it can be seen that the central rivet, the head of which is somewhat greater than the others, has originally protruded at least 8 mm. This then may be the approximate thickness of the backing to which the plaque was originally fastened.

The ornaments on the top do not seem to be cast, but to be cut into the surface, the design and execution betraying both skill and taste. As will be seen from the illustration (pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 1) the space is divided into medallions by a framework. This is quite plain except for a dotted line which does not even cover all the ribs. The ground between the frames is filled up along the edge with motives which are well known to students of Irish and Anglo-Saxon art. The varying forms of interlacing are repeated nearly symmetrically from compartment to compartment. The four inner compartments around the central knot and one in a corner, have each one animal of almost identical shape. It is strongly



FIG. 1. Anglo-Saxon bronze mount, Bjoerke, Norway ($\frac{1}{2}$)

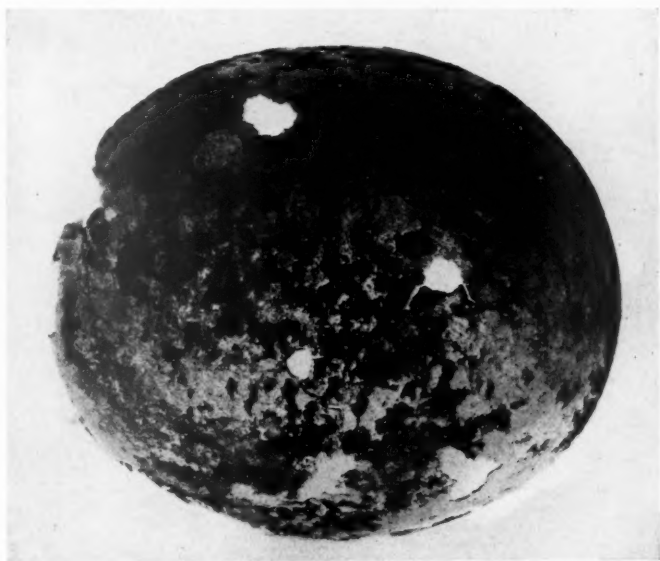


FIG. 2. Bronze tortoise brooch, Bjoerke, Norway ($\frac{1}{2}$)



FIG. 1. Bronze armlet, Bjoerke, Norway ($\frac{1}{2}$)



FIG. 2. Glass beads, Bjoerke, Norway ($\frac{1}{2}$)

stylized, but the head with one eye and a large open mouth can easily be discerned in all instances, mostly also one foot with toes and a leaf-shaped termination. The tongue is drawn out, combines with the foot, and coils round the head and body in a way well known in old English ornamentation.

We may here dispense with all discussion of the decoration and the single motives, and only limit ourselves to refer to Mr. Reginald A. Smith's valuable treatise on the subject in *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, pp. 233 f. Among the material he has compiled, the Witham pin and the Lunde fragment may be mentioned as close parallels to our object (l.c. figs. 13, 22). There is still greater similarity in the Ixworth pin-head in four compartments (his fig. 16). Indeed there can be little doubt that the plaque belongs to the group which Mr. Smith claims as Anglian craft. His dating of the Witham pin in the eighth century (Smith, l.c. 241) is supported by our find, as will be seen from a short review of the objects that it was associated with.

The plaque belongs to the contents of a female tomb which came to light in the churchyard at Bjoerke church, parish of Hjörundsfjord, co. Møre, about 125 miles to the north of Bergen in Western Norway. The place is still used for burial purposes, and it was in digging a new grave that the objects were found. According to the ancient custom of the district the digging is performed by the relations of the deceased and of course has to be finished in a great hurry. No expert therefore was informed about the find, and consequently very little is known about the arrangement of the old tomb, except that it was an inhumation. The objects found were, besides the plaque, two tortoise brooches of cast bronze (pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 2), quite thin and without any decoration, two armlets of bronze (pl. LXXXIX, fig. 1), a number of glass beads (pl. LXXXIX, fig. 2), a weaver's sword of iron and a horse-bit of the same material. This is a pretty normal furniture of a woman's grave from the beginning of what is in Norse archaeology called the Viking period (800-1050). Indeed it may be said that the implements are rather scarce, and possibly further research, which will be undertaken, will produce some more. On the other hand the objects for feminine ornament form quite a typical and complete set. On her dress the Norse woman of the Viking period constantly carried two large oval brooches of bronze, one on each shoulder. The form itself was preserved with slight variation for about 250 years, the decoration on the other hand developing from a light engraved design or no decoration at all, to a baroque zoomorphic pattern vigorously cast in relief. This series therefore is an excellent aid for chronological gradation. Now the two brooches in our find belong to the older, plain variety which mainly belongs to the eighth century, some specimens probably dating from the beginning of the ninth (cf. Jan Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, pp. 5 f.). The plaque then must have found its way across the North Sea on one of the first Viking raids which took place at the very close of the eighth century, and for the manufacturing of the plaque and the style of decoration the year 800 may be fixed as a *terminus ante quem*.

As to the employment of the object the following hint may be mentioned. Beside the two tortoise brooches a third brooch was generally carried, placed in front of the dress, changing in form and decoration according to taste and custom. Rather common were Celtic bronze mountings or other objects of foreign origin, furnished with a pin and adopted as brooches. In our grave no such third brooch was found, and although the plaque shows no trace of ever having carried a pin, there can be little doubt that it has been used instead of a brooch, in one way or the other attached to the front of the dress. It deserves attention that the rivet in one corner is missing, having probably been removed intentionally so as to produce a means of attachment or of suspension. Indeed the hole seems to show traces of wear which can only be explained in this way. It will be remembered that the great brooches of the Viking period were often sewn to the dress or gown as constant accessories (Johs. Bøe, *An ornamented Celtic bronze object*, etc., p. 16. *Bergens Museum Årbok* 1924-25).

A Saxon Cemetery at Ewell, Surrey.—Mr. G. C. Dunning makes the following report:—In May 1930 three skeletons were found about 2 ft.

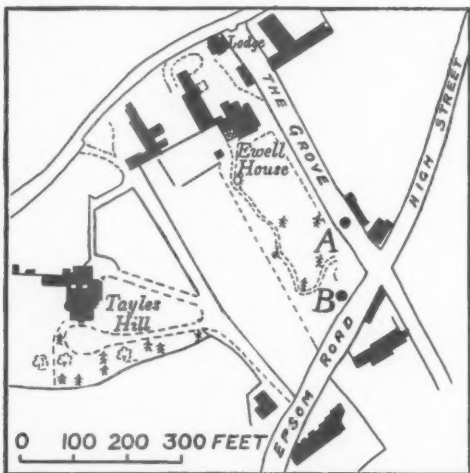


FIG. 1. Map showing sites of discoveries at Ewell, Surrey

6 in. below surface in cutting a trench for electric cables in the Grove, at a point about 100 ft. north-west of the High Street, Ewell (fig. 1, site A)¹. One skeleton, that of a man aged about forty with cephalic index of 71.7, lay on its left side due east and west, with head to the west; no details are known of the positions of the other skeletons, said to be those of a woman and child. Two iron spear-heads (fig. 3, 1-2) were found in

¹ 6 in. O.S., Surrey, Sheet 19 N.W.

association with the burials.¹ Roman pottery—an olla of first-century type and a fragment of a fourth-century flanged bowl—and part of the lower stone of a rotary quern were also found in the trench. The above notes are based on observations made by Mr. J. A. Pywell, who has deposited the finds in the Guildford Museum.

More burials were found early in 1932 in excavating ground for buildings on the north-west side of Epsom Road, about 150 ft. south of the

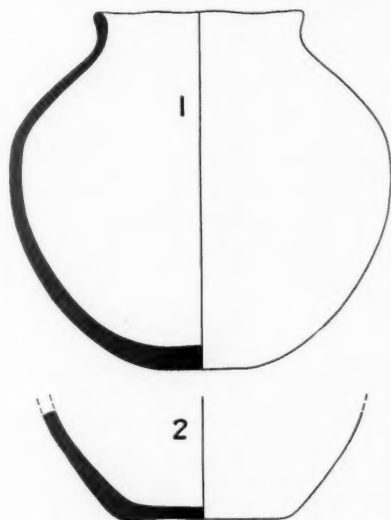


FIG. 2. Saxon urns from Ewell ($\frac{1}{4}$)

burials in the Grove (fig. 1, site B). It is probable that both groups of burials are parts of a cemetery of considerable but unknown extent; other burials are said to have been found at this spot in making the Epsom Road.² The burials occurred at a depth of about 6 ft. in fine yellow sand, beneath a made-up bank adjacent to the road. Fragments of Roman pottery and tile were found in the bank at a higher level than the Saxon burials, and were probably derived from a building in the neighbourhood. At least three skeletons were found by the workmen, but no record was made of their orientation or the position of the associated objects (fig. 3, 3-5); one left thigh-bone had iron-rust adhering to the lower end, suggesting that, as usual, the spearheads lay by the side of the body. The lower half of an urn containing burnt bones (fig. 2, 2) was dug out by Mr. E. A. R. Rahbula, F.S.A., and myself; the upper part of the pot

¹ A short note on the burials appeared in *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, xxxviii, 227.

² This road has been identified as Stane Street. See *Roman London* (Roy. Com. Hist. Mon.), p. 52.

seems to have been destroyed in levelling up the ground previously. It is probable that the complete urn (fig. 2, 1), found by the workmen, also contained a cremation. The mixture of burial rites probably indicates a sixth-century date; a large cemetery of this date has recently been excavated at Guildown, Guildford, and published by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther.¹

Fig. 2. 1. Globular pot, 8.5 in. high and 9.1 in. in greatest diameter, with uneven thickened rim; the base is slightly flattened and out of the

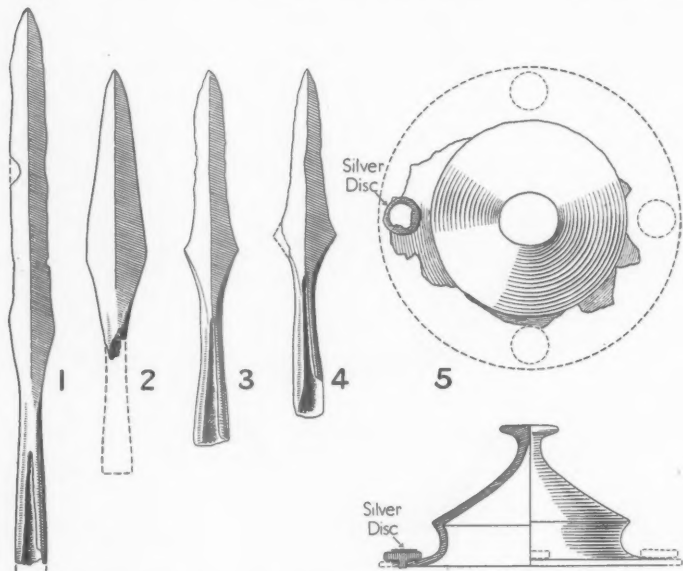


FIG. 3. Iron spear-heads and shield-boss from Ewell ($\frac{1}{4}$)

centre. Hand-made, hard sandy grey ware, tooled grey surface with large red patches.

2. Base and lower part of urn, found upright in yellow sand. It contained small pieces of burnt bone, probably the remains of a woman. Hand-made, hard sandy grey ware with black spicules, apparently chopped grass or straw, which have weathered out leaving a pitted brownish-grey surface.

Fig. 3. 1. Long slender spear-head with split socket. Length 13.2 in., end of socket broken.

2. Spear-head with broad blade, socket broken.

3 and 4. Spear-heads with angular blades and split-sockets. Lengths 8.9 and 8.3 in.

5. Shield-boss of ordinary form. On the head of the only remaining rivet is a thin silver disc; possibly the flat knob of the boss originally had

¹ *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxxix, 1-50.



Bronzes from Aston, near Remenham, Berks. (1)

a similar disc. Saxon shield-bosses are not infrequently ornamented with silver discs, but these may not be recognized until treated chemically, as in the present instance.

West-Saxon graves in Berks.—The six bronzes on pl. xc were exhibited to the Society on 11 February by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford. In Baron de Baye's *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1893, there is figured (plate viii, fig. 5) a saucer-brooch from Aston, Berks., which is now in the British Museum. It seemed certain that this was a grave-find, and a cemetery was indicated; but the exact site was nowhere recorded, and local inquiries at first produced nothing. Eventually, however, our Fellow Colonel Serocold succeeded in locating it in the garden of Mr. Surtees' house, Aston Rise (lat. $51^{\circ} 33' 0''$ N., long. $0^{\circ} 52' 16''$ W.; Berks. 23 N.W.); and at the same time he brought to light another discovery, here illustrated. It was made about Christmas 1921, and consisted of a skeleton with 4 brooches, a shield-boss, 3 spear-heads and 3 knives. There are also two bronzes that may belong to horse-harness (a, d): the ring tapers towards the break, with iron-rust opposite, and as the ring of an iron bit it might have been worn down unequally. The other had three flattened loops on the edge for straps, and is probably a martingale for joining straps in front of the horse's chest. Of the brooches three are of the saucer-type and two (e, f), a pair, with cruciform design in the centre surrounded by a zone of debased animal pattern: the third (b) is flatter, with running scrolls and slightly raised centre. The other brooch (c) is a disc on which no design is now visible, though engraved rings or ring-and-dot patterns are frequent in this class at Long Wittenham in the same county (e.g. *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 339, 341, 343). There is a tendency to regard the running spirals as earlier than the cruciform centre of saucer-brooches, but these may here be contemporary and evidently date from the pagan period, the cross having in this case no religious significance. The bronzes have since the meeting been presented to the British Museum by the landlord, Viscount Hambledon.

An English medieval wooden Pax.—Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., sends the following note:—To the list of known English medieval paxes, some fifteen in number, it is now possible to add yet another example. Those previously recorded are of ivory, silver or of latten, the one about to be described is of oak and so far as I am aware is in this respect unique, though in early times wooden paxes were no doubt of frequent occurrence and were then described as 'paxes of tre'. The pax under consideration was, until 1930, in the possession of the Tempest family, of Euxton, Lancashire, and was originally no doubt the property of one of the less important Lancashire churches. It is carved on a slab of oak $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick, and it still retains some of the original red paint on the back, where may yet be seen the two dowel-holes for the attachment of the wooden handle. The panel, which has the mouldings etc. carved from the solid, exhibits the Crucifixion in high relief, between standing figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the

Divine, placed upon a rocky ground. At the foot of the cross is a raised vesica having a flat edge and a slightly sunk centre, and this unique feature would appear to have been introduced in order that it might receive the kisses of the faithful. This pax, which would appear to be



Medieval wooden pax

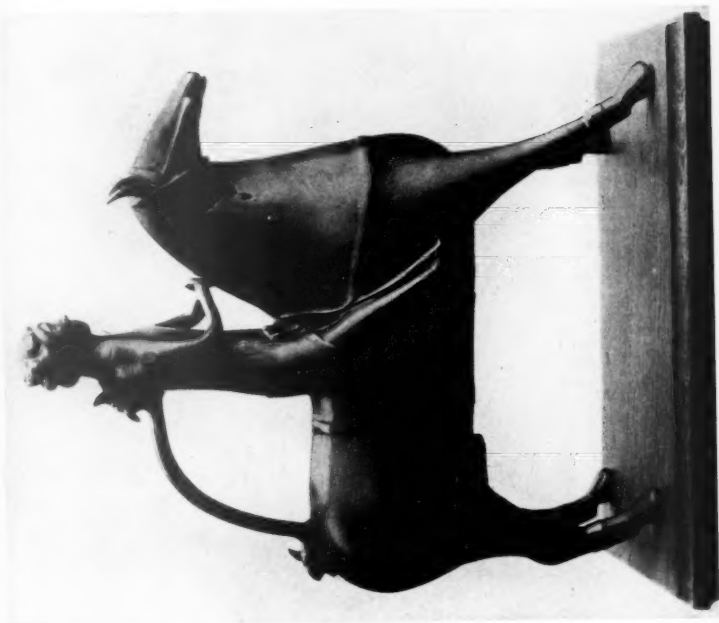
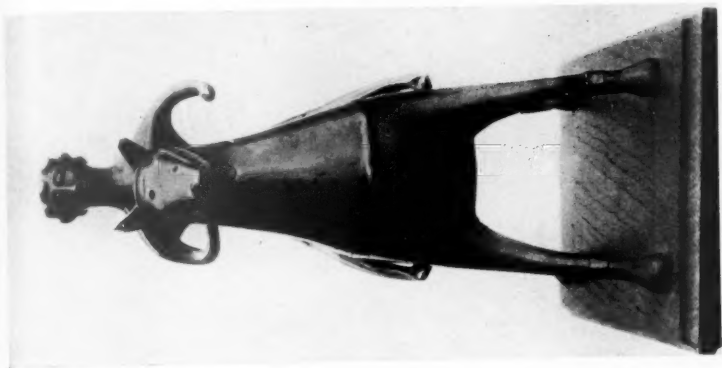
circa 1495, still shows faint traces of its polychrome decoration within the recesses of the carving.

An English Equestrian Aquamanile.—Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., sends the following:—

Bronze equestrian aquamaniles may be divided into the following three groups, according to the mode of egress of the water from the horse:—

1. Exit through the horse's mouth, *circa* 1180-1270.
2. Exit through a tube in the horse's forehead, *circa* 1270-1350.
3. Exit through a tapped-pipe in the horse's chest, *circa* 1350-1450.

It is among the first of these groups that the example about to be described finds its place.



English equestrian aquamanile

This equestrian aquamanile (pl. xci), which was found in Somerset, measures $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, whilst its present height is $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. It has unfortunately been deprived of about 1 in. of its original height, one hind leg having been shortened by fracture and the other three have been lost by consequent amputation. The horse has also had about $1\frac{1}{2}$ sq. in. of metal excised from the centre of its abdomen, in order to load the figure of its rider with molten lead, probably with the intention of converting the group into a door-stop. The horse has a large cylindrical body, with well-modelled legs, a very thick neck and a small pointed head on which the eyes are indicated by engraving, and it is much superior in execution to any other example of the same category preserved on the Continent. The long mane is indicated on the off-side of the neck by finely engraved lines, whilst the tail is also finely incised. The bit and bridle are in high relief, as also is the breast-band, attached to which from short tags hang sixteen oval pendants, such as may be seen on equestrian seals of the second half of the twelfth century. The saddle, which lacks any girth, has a very high pommel and cantle, and rests upon a cloth, having a fringe along its back edge.

The rider, who sits upright and wears prick-spurs, has his feet thrust well forward in the stirrups. His eyes are prominent and almond-shaped, the lids being engraved, whilst his hair is dressed in clumps of short curls, a type of coiffure which one associates with Henry II. His long surcoat, split up the front, and girt about the waist, is blown far back, exposing his hosen, and is of such length as would reach down to his ankles; the folds are indicated by shallow engraving. He would appear to have held the reins, now missing, in his right hand, whilst upon the missing left he may have supported a hawk,¹ such as we find on the later example in the Chabrières-Arles Collection. The water was admitted through the head of the rider, the hole therein being closed by means of a hinged lid, now lost, and passed out through the horse's mouth.

The curved flat handle, which stretches from the base of the horse's tail to the upper part of the rider's back is formed by an amphisbaena (*Amphisbaena alba*),² the double-headed serpent so popular in English art during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Dr. Otto von Falke has well described³ several crude equestrian aquamaniles of the earliest type, which he calls the 'Huntsman group', and it is possible that the design of these vessels was in part derived from some such aquamanile as that now before us. Specimens of 'Huntsman Aquamaniles' are to be seen at Buda-Pest, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg, Stockholm and Vienna, some having a hunting-leopard (*Cynailurus jubatus*) upon the back of the horse, whilst the riders carried long shields and hunting-horns.

May one suggest that the example under consideration can be dated circa 1180 and is perchance of English workmanship? That such may be the case can, I venture to think, be proved by the following evidences.

The presence of the unique Amphisbaena handle, the short hair of the rider, as worn by Henry II (Richard I had longer hair and a beard, whilst

¹ *Exposition à l'Hôtel de Sagan*, Paris, 1913, pl. xiii.

² G. C. Druce, *Archaeological Journal*, lxvii, 285.

³ *Pantheon*, 1929, 426-30.

John wore long hair), the very long close-fitting surcoat and the pendants about the horse's chest.

The out-thrust position of the rider's short legs is very similar to that on the example formerly preserved at Hereford¹ and on the two specimens in the British Museum, concerning which latter, though their date is later, viz. circa 1300, the author of the *Guide to Mediaeval Antiquities* wrote, 'The aquamaniles in the form of a mounted knight and another horseman in the same case, may well have been made in the country in which they were found'.

Dr. von Falke writes to me concerning the 'Huntsman group', 'Where they were made is not known, perhaps in Scandinavia or possibly in England', whilst in regard to the example we are discussing he says, 'As to the date I agree with your opinion, end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century'.

That equestrian aquamaniles were used and appreciated as works of art in England in medieval times, is shown by the following extract from *The Rites of Durham*, where among the vessels formerly existing in the Fraterhouse were, 'a fair bason and Ewer of Latten, the Ewer purtrayed like unto a horse and a man sitting on his back as if he had been riding a hunting which served the Sub Prior to wash at the aforesaid table, where he did sitt as chief, the bason and Ewer were a very fine piece of work'.²

Now equestrian aquamaniles, in glazed pottery, such as we see at Lewes and Salisbury,³ were made in England in the thirteenth century, whilst the Gloucester candlestick, and the two equestrian aquamaniles and the Kumassi ewer in the British Museum, show us the excellent craftsmanship attained to by native metal-workers in early times.

There is therefore no valid reason why this aquamanile could not have been made in England and be of the early date suggested, viz. 1180.

Excavations at Warrington Friary.—The demolition of the old candle factory in Friars Green, Warrington, in July last year, provided an opportunity for searching for the foundations of the nave of the friary. Messrs. Greenall, Whitley and Company granted permission to dig on the land and every possible assistance was given by the contractor. The excavation was carried out by the Museum Committee of the Warrington Corporation.

In 1886 excavations were made by the Warrington Corporation, and the foundations of the Priory Church were discovered 4 ft. below the surface, between Friars Green and Bridge street. In 1889 Mr. William Owen read a paper before the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society on the discoveries. His plan shows what he conjectured to be the north wall of the nave. The recent excavations proved it to be some 13 ft. to the

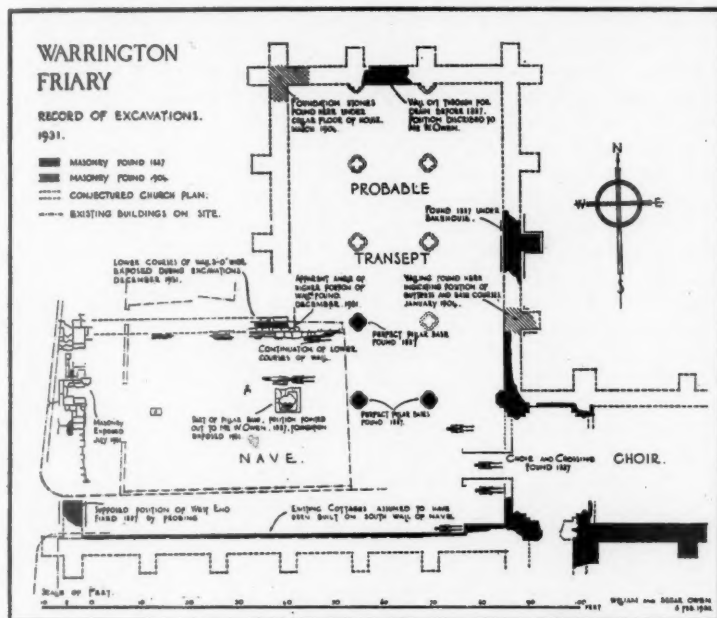
¹ Nelson, *Transactions, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, lxxvii, 1916, p. 78.

² *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, vol. cvii, 1902, p. 81.

³ *Catalogue of Exhibition English Mediaeval Art, Victoria and Albert Museum*, 1930, nos. 233, 234.

north, and also carried the proved foundations a step further, but nothing is yet known of the domestic parts of the friary.

The Priory of Augustinian or Hermit Friars was established on land in the vicinity of Bridge street about 1265. The Priory was dissolved in 1539, but the Church, called Jesus Church, remained in use for another



Plan of Warrington Friary

100 years. Afterwards it was pulled down, the site was built upon, and its position forgotten.

The accompanying plan by Mr. William Geoffrey Owen is reproduced by courtesy of the proprietors of the *Warrington Examiner*.

Flint implements found near Wakefield.—In the small collection given to Wakefield Museum by our Fellow Dr. J. W. Walker are some notable specimens here published with the ready permission of all concerned. Palaeolithic and Scandinavian types would hardly be expected in the West Riding of Yorkshire; but specimens of both categories are now frequently found, and our views on distribution must be modified in consequence.

No. 1. Implement of unusual type with tapering crusted butt and broad cutting-edge which has been blunted in use: one face almost a clean fracture, the other flaked in the style of St. Acheul; rather rolled, black and brown mottling. L. 5 in. Lee Moor, 4 miles north of Wakefield, October 1889.

No. 2. Subtriangular hand-axe with crusted lateral butt, the edges sharp and fairly straight, somewhat rolled, mottled grey and yellow, thickest in the middle, a late Drift type. L. 3.5 in. Lee Moor, October 1889.

Nos. 3 and 4. Thick-butted celts of Scandinavian origin, partly polished on the broader faces, and cutting-edge slightly spread, of the long-barrow (*Ganggrift*) type, dated about 2300–1800 B.C. L. 5.5 and 3.4 in. Kitching Farm, Stanley (Francis Pape). The site is mentioned in our *Proceedings*, 2nd ser. iv, 420; and parallels have been published in *Archaeologia*, lxxii, 39, fig. 17 (Thames at Twickenham, not as stated) and fig. 18 (near Cambridge, not as stated). Two others, labelled Cambridge and Yorkshire, are published as a warning by Mr. Burkitt in *Man*, 1924, no. 85.

No. 5. Dagger with traces of pitch for hafting 1.4 in. from butt end, leaving 3.3 in. exposed: mottled brown and yellow, flaked all over both faces. L. 4.7 in. Kitching Farm, Stanley (Francis Pape). This is a Danish type (cf. Müller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager, Stenalderen*, nos. 141, 152, 157) and belongs to a late phase of the Neolithic period. A similar dagger-blade is illustrated with a handled specimen clearly of Scandinavian type in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, i, p. 490, pl. cxxv, from Rushford, Norfolk.

No. 6. Basaltic stone celt, the butt re-trimmed but probably of the thin-butted type, with sides slightly squared, the surface ground all over except on re-chipped butt. L. 3.6 in. Locality unknown, but presumably from Stephen Elliott's land at Lake Loch, about a mile from Lee Moor, March 1892. Perhaps of Irish origin, dolmen type, 2600–2300 B.C.

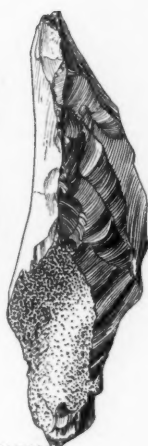


Metal badge from
Haddon (†)

Medieval metal badge.—The object here illustrated full size was found by our Fellow the Duke of Rutland in the chapel at Haddon in September 1931. It is made of bronze and consists of a figure of the Virgin and Child upon a background representing a conventional open flower surrounded by a cable moulding. The figure is cast separately from the back portion and is attached to it. The object is apparently a hat badge. It is probably of French workmanship and its date is about 1600.

ably of French workmanship and its date is about 1600.

An enamel from Belvoir Priory.—During excavations on the site of the sub-vault of the guest-house at Belvoir Priory, Notts., in April 1932, a quatrefoil plate of enamelled copper was found, and is here illustrated by permission of our Fellow the Duke of Rutland. It was associated with a ring, about 1½ in. diameter, of two stout twisted strands, and has an oblong slit in the centre near a circular hole, as well as a smaller rivet-hole at the head of each lobe. The surface was once gilt on the stippled ground, and the charge is a pelican, which was formerly enamelled in



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4



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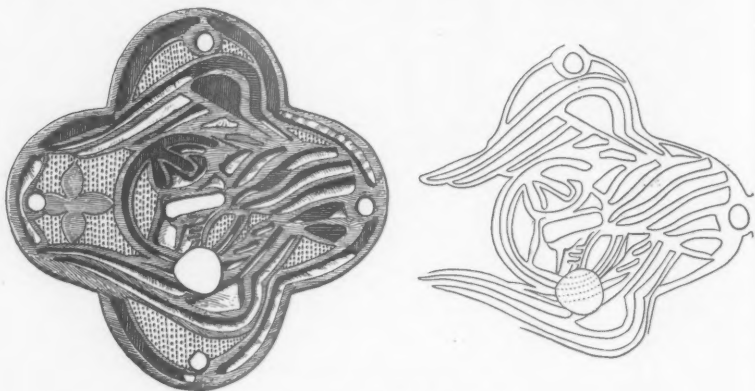
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6

Flint implements found near Wakefield ($\frac{1}{2}$)

white, red, and blue: traces of these are indicated heraldically in the drawing (bold vertical hatching for red, and horizontal for blue). The breadth and height are both 2.6 in., and the date early fourteenth century. There is a bird in some respects similar on an enamelled disc of the Bel-lac reliquary (E. Rupin, *L'œuvre de Limoges*, p. 145, fig. 218); and the trefoil on a hatched or stippled ground which here fills the space in front of the bird's breast is similarly used on a plaque from the back of a crucifix, in the Neufchâtel-en-Bray museum, Seine-inférieure (op. cit., p. 146,



An enamel from Belvoir priory

fig. 220). The red enamel, of which all that remains is indicated by vertical lines in the drawing, is not confined to the breast, as it might have been used to signify the pelican in her piety—a device that was common in the Middle Ages, but is difficult to connect with Belvoir Priory.

A hanging-bowl from Lincolnshire.—Problems connected with the bronze bowls with escutcheons found in Anglo-Saxon graves are still unsolved, and all new evidence should be put on record. Mrs. E. H. Rudkin has found at Willoughton (two miles west of the Ermine Street, and seven miles from Gainsborough) a bronze rim-fragment of the common type of bowl, two pieces of a bronze buckle, and a stout curved and bevelled bronze fragment broken at both tapering ends. The rim is 9 in. on the outer curve with an approximate diameter of 8 in., and with a bluish-green patina. Enough is preserved to show the hollow curve of the neck, and the flat lip folded inwards as on the Winchester bowl (*Antiq. Journ.* xi, 9). Though no escutcheons have been found, there can be no doubt that this is one more example of the enamelled bowl-type which is almost confined to England and must have been common during the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. As the prototype seems to date back to the Early Iron-Age in Wales, a British origin is indicated, and this has been recently emphasized by Mr. Kendrick in *Antiquity*, June 1932, his view being that the Teutonic invaders appropriated the bowls from the

Romanized natives, and admired the enamels which they were unable to reproduce. It is evident that the Vikings regarded them from this point of view, as many looted examples have been found in Norway; but by their time the original purpose of the bowls may well have been forgotten.

Investigation of the Fens.—Mr. M. C. Burkitt, F.S.A., one of the Local Secretaries for Cambridgeshire, writes: From many points of view the Fen country of East Anglia is of extreme interest. Hardly anywhere else can a more or less complete sequence of deposits dating from Quaternary times be so well studied. Recently the especial importance of the Fenland has been demonstrated once again by Major Fowler of Ely, who has been studying the prehistoric water-ways of the district, and by Mr. Grahame Clark, who has been investigating an early Metal-Age site *in situ* below peat. But for a proper study of the fens many different lines of investigation are required; not only is the archaeologist needed, but perhaps even more the palaeo-botanist and the geologist. For some time past several people at Cambridge have felt that a research committee of experts in the various branches of science required should be formed to undertake a comprehensive study of the region. Such a committee, connected with the two chief archaeological societies in the area (the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia), has now been formed and will probably be starting its work during this autumn. The Master of Downing College has most kindly consented to be the President, and Major Fowler the Vice-President. Mr. Grahame Clark is the Secretary, and any one wishing to communicate with the committee in regard to the early history of the Fens should write to him at Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Bronzes of the Early Iron Age from Yorkshire.—Beyond the well-known early settlement at Scarborough and the lake-dwellings of Holderness and the vale of Pickering, Yorkshire has at present little of the Early Iron Age to show before the appearance in the third century B.C. of the famous La Tène culture of the Wolds, with its imposing chariot-burials. A pre-La Tène bronze brooch of Italian character, however, dug up at Boroughbridge in the Plain of York and now in York Museum, was recently published in this *Journal* (vol. x, 54–5), and Mr. Christopher Hawkes is now able to communicate another, found in York or the immediate neighbourhood, by courtesy of the owner, Mr. F. E. Huckle of Luton, who inherited it from his uncle, a York collector, and has submitted it for examination at the British Museum.

The brooch (fig. 1: length $1\frac{1}{10}$ in.) has an arched bow of roughly circular section, its outer surface ornamented with an engraved chevron-pattern; the catch-plate is imperfect, and spring and pin are missing. It recalls another specimen, believed also to have been found at York, presented to the British Museum in 1919 by Capt. John Ball, and not hitherto published. This (fig. 2: length $1\frac{7}{8}$ in.) has the bow thickened to leech form and decorated with an angular engraved design, interrupted by pairs of transverse lines flanking two rows of ring-and-dot pattern:

catch-plate, spring, and pin are missing, and the small irregular perforation in the head of the bow, to which some iron rust now adheres, can hardly be original.

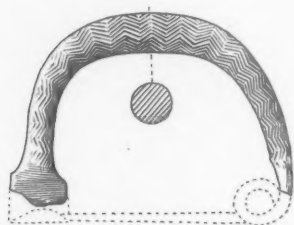


FIG. 1

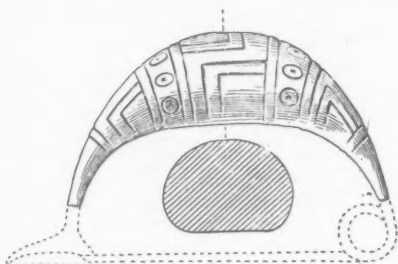


FIG. 2

Italian bronze brooches of the Early Iron Age stated to have been found at or near York ($\frac{1}{2}$)

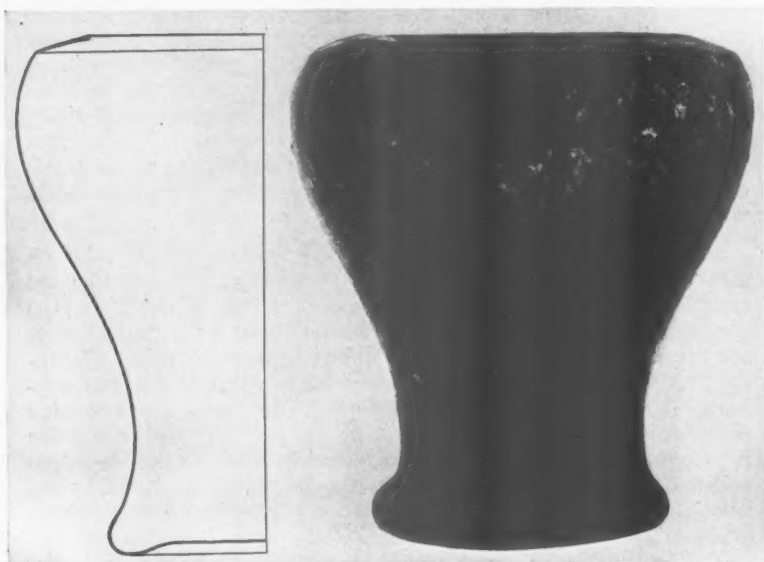


FIG. 3. Bronze situla stated to have been found at or near York ($\frac{1}{2}$)

These two brooches may be added to the list of such Italian imports into Britain in the Hallstatt period begun by Prof. Ridgeway and Mr. Reginald Smith in 1906 (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 97 ff.), to which the addenda hitherto published have been brought together in a recent volume entitled *Archaeology in England and Wales 1914-31*, 168-9. They belong

in all probability to the sixth century B.C., and may, perhaps, be ascribed to early penetrators of eastern and central Yorkshire contemporary with the better-attested Hallstatt settlers of the south and south-east.

Another and larger piece in Mr. Huckle's collection also deserves illustration (fig. 3): it is a situla or bucket-shaped vessel of hammered bronze, standing $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, also recorded as found in York or the immediate neighbourhood. The graceful pear shape is broken only by the slightest carination above the shoulder, and though without a lip, is less reminiscent of Hallstatt or contemporary Italian situlae than the Middle La Tène pottery characteristic of southern Germany and the Marne district in the third and second centuries B.C.¹ Metal prototypes for such Celtic vase-forms have been postulated, though apparently not adduced;² but whatever its place of manufacture, the La Tène date of this vessel is beyond doubt, and the two escutcheons of unequal size, belonging doubtless to handle-attachments, whose former presence on its shoulder is attested by shield-shaped pentagonal scars, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. across by $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. high respectively, must have been ornamented, and were perhaps enamelled, in the style of the period. Its appearance in the neighbourhood of York may be connected with the chariot-riding tribes of the Wolds, whose culture, established there by immigration apparently about the middle of the third century B.C., spread in the ensuing centuries over much of the north of England, characterizing, one may guess, an aristocratic minority, of north-Gaulish extraction, dominant among or over the peoples known to the Romans as the Brigantes.

A Belgic incineration in the Isle of Wight.—Mr. G. A. Sherwin, F.S.A., writes to point out an error in the description of the pottery published under the above title on p. 297 of the July number of this *Journal*. The pots are there stated to be hand-made; the sentence should, however, read: 'All the pots are wheel-made.'

¹ e.g. *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, v, taf. 51, 934-5.

² *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 171-3.

Reviews

The English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-chief and Knight Service. By HELENA M. CHEW. 9 x 5½. Pp. xii + 203. Oxford: University Press; London: Milford, 1932. 12s. 6d.

The gradual decline of the feudal host and its replacement by an army recruited on different principles have been studied in such books as J. E. Morris's *Welsh Wars of Edward I*; but it has been left for Miss Chew to examine in detail the effects of this gradual change in the machinery established by the Conqueror for securing a supply of knights from his feudal tenants. She has gathered from the Pipe Rolls and the Marshal's rolls of proffers of service careful statistics of the scutage paid by ecclesiastical tenants at various dates and of the number of knights and men-at-arms actually sent, and has made clear what the obligation was and how the burden of meeting it was distributed by the tenants-in-chief among those who held of them; and has worked out for St. Albans and Malmesbury the actual *rota* according to which the tenants of particular estates took their turns in providing knights for the king's armies. She has established the fact that, in spite of efforts made by Henry II, John, and Henry III, the crown failed for the most part to obtain scutage for more fees than were included in the original *servitium debitum*, however many knights its ecclesiastical tenants had enfeoffed, and has made clear the process by which the number of knights actually sent was reduced to a fraction of the original *quota*. She concludes with the consideration of the term *baro*, which she declines to regard as essentially implying jurisdiction, thus dissenting from Miss R. Reid. She holds that the term was more loosely used, and implied primarily tenure by some honourable service, and secondarily, after the Hildebrandine controversies, tenure in lay fee as opposed to frankalmoign.

Short as the book is, the research involved in it has meant years of work, and it seems ungracious to ask for more. But a reader cannot help regretting that Miss Chew has made no use of the interesting document in English contained in a Shaftesbury cartulary (MS. Harl. 61) which shows the incidence of the feudal obligation on the sub-tenants. It would have made a good parallel to the evidence in the cases of Malmesbury and St. Albans. The Latin words *corpus* for the knight sent to the army, and *turnus* for the turn in supplying him, are worth noting for a medieval glossary.

CHARLES JOHNSON.

Le mura di Roma repubblicana: saggio di archeologia romana. Di Goesta Säfslund. *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom.* I (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sveciae.* I) 12 x 8½. Pp. xvi + 278. Lund: Gleerup; London: Milford, 1932.

This is a valuable and important work. It is the first detailed study of the Servian Wall in Rome which satisfies modern standards of research, and it contrives to make many new and valuable points about a monument

of great historical importance if tantalizing in the meagre character of its remains. The best opportunity for the study of these remains came fifty years ago, when Rome grew after the *Risorgimento*; but the only valuable notes taken at the time were Lanciani's, and these did not become available until 1925. Dr. Säföund has made ample use of the resources which they offer, but the bulk of the book represents his own original research, of which the results may be summarized as follows.

Historically, the wall which we now see is not that of Servius, whose *agger* it embodied where it crossed the Viminal plateau. It belongs to the fourth century, after the Gallic destruction, and the masons' marks on its blockwork connect not with Etruria but with the Greek cycle centred at Syracuse. The work in soft grey tufa associated with this wall, hitherto presumed to be of sixth-century date, turns out to be repairs associated with concrete, and therefore not earlier than the second century B.C. Säföund would date them all from the refurbishing of the Sullan age, but one cannot follow this tempting theory, for although the literary sources appear to support it, they are too meagre, and the view is really based upon false premises about the relation of the wall to the altar of Terminus. Nevertheless, the general date cannot be fundamentally wrong, and Säföund may be said to have decisively disproved the idea that Servius Tullius built his town-wall in stone, a notion recently resuscitated by Ashby. The value of this principal conclusion is very great and rids historians of an awkward series of dilemmas. For the rest, it is impossible now to shed light upon the disposition and character of Servius's work as a whole, though Säföund rightly calls attention to the important analogy of Ardea, recently explored for the Association of Mediterranean Studies by the Swedish School.

The author is perhaps less successful in his reconstructions of the size and aspect of the great bulwark. This rests upon evidence drawn from regrettably inadequate records of sections across the Wall and *agger* as they were swept away. We can distinguish without doubt an *agger* that was first heightened and then greatly enlarged once towards the back, and which certainly must have preceded the Wall. Säföund thinks that the heightening was not contemporary with the building of the Wall but followed it; yet the general probabilities of the case hardly support this view, while there is no evidence that the backward extension of the *agger*, contemporary with the second-century repair-work, necessarily stands for a still further heightening of the whole work, nor will such evidence ever be available. Here a deeper knowledge of the combined earth and masonry defences of the Empire would have perhaps persuaded Dr. Säföund into stating other possible views of the case, though this remark is in no way meant as a reproach. By way of compensation, we would draw the reader's attention to the interesting details of the *ballistarium*-casemates added near the Gates in the Sullan age.

It is not the place here to deal with the topographical questions which the book raises and discusses with much intuition and skill. English readers are likely to be more interested in the structural side. Dr. Säföund evolves the general theory that Republican defences in Rome and

Italy as a whole evolved much as follows. The first period, represented by the Servian *agger* in Rome and the similar defences at Ardea, was a combination of *agger* with natural obstacle, on the principle of the promontory fort. The second period, for political reasons reaching Rome rather late, was marked by the introduction of a complete circuit after the Gallic wars, and Säföund considers that there was hesitation even then to adopt this scheme. The third period, of the Hannibalic wars, adopted the general principle of heightening already existing walls in order to counter the attacks of Hellenistic siege-machinery, now introduced into Italy for the first time. The fourth period, Sulla's age, marked the introduction of artillery-defence. On the whole, one is inclined to agree with these notions as a general scheme of classification, but with these provisos. With the example of Veii before us, it is impossible to judge how old was the tendency to create large and ample circuits of stone walls, just as it is almost inconceivable that the Romans should have hesitated to adopt the scheme of defence that had baffled them for so long. Secondly, while the tendency to heighten walls is undoubted (Spoleto is one of the best examples) we incline to think that the Hannibalic age saw few walls as high as those of Falerii, just as the Sullan age, when building anew and introducing its theories of artillery defence, went back to the lower type as at Fondi and Terracina. But we welcome whole-heartedly this study as a norm whose value must be tested by long years of work, and we take this opportunity of expressing the warmest admiration for the way in which it has been done.

I. A. RICHMOND.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part I. The Neolithic Settlement, by GEORGE E. MYLONAS. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8. Pp. xviii + 108. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Milford, 1929. 34s.

— Part 2. Architecture and Sculpture. Houses and other buildings, by DAVID M. ROBINSON. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8. Pp. xxii + 150. Same publishers, 1930. 90s.

— Part 4. The Terracottas of Olynthus, found in 1928, by DAVID M. ROBINSON. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8. Pp. xii + 105. Same publishers, 1931. 45s.

The excavation of Olynthus promised valuable information to students of Greek History. The sack by Philip in 348 B.C. and the total destruction of the site should provide a lower limit for the dating of the small finds. The absence of a later occupation encouraged the hope that an unmodified city plan of the late fifth or early fourth century might be recovered. The earlier history of the settlement suggested that the remains might elucidate the relations between the Greek and the native elements in Macedonia. These three volumes indicate how far these objects have been realized, but the complete appreciation of the results must be deferred until the publication of the remaining finds is complete. The report is on a lavish scale with many illustrations. Unfortunately the text bears frequent traces of hasty compilation, while many of the plates are badly chosen or reproduced from photographs originally out of focus. Several of the plans lack any indication of scale and no sections are given.

Except in the case of the neolithic settlements the stratigraphical relationship of the finds is generally neglected; and the use of objects found above the floor level, to date the earlier buildings is not, in every case, convincing.

The examination of the neolithic settlements produced valuable material which may be compared with the results of the British excavations in the neighbouring tomba of Hagios Mamas (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. xxix). The houses from the two lower strata are interesting, but in the absence of actual remains the superstructure is likely to have been wattle and daub rather than mud brick (cf. Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 64 and 217). The pottery, though resembling that of Hagios Mamas, shows certain differences in the finer wares. Neither white on black ($\Gamma 1 \alpha 1$) nor any of the other decorated varieties of the black polished wares are recorded, and the elaborate patterns of the black on red suggest $\beta 3 \alpha$ rather than $\beta 3 \delta$.

The most interesting discoveries in the Classical city are the 'Civic Centre' and the later extension of the town on to the North Hill. The 'Civic Centre' was a complex site with at least three building periods. To the earliest, dating before the Persian siege of 479 B.C., belong re-used stones, fragments of painted stucco and the greater part of a deposit of over fifty terracottas. Twenty-two storage pits from which sixth-century pottery (but no red figured vases) was recovered belong to the same period. Professor Robinson suggests that the site was occupied by an archaic temple. To this succeeded a large building which he thinks may have been a prytaneum. Finally, this was disused and poorly built houses encroached on the site. This last period seems to be connected with a realignment of the street.

The contrast between the old town and the later settlement on the North Hill, with its straight streets, intersecting at right angles and its regular houses, based on a common plan, is very marked. The finds show that this area was first occupied during the fifth century and that it is an unaltered example of the town planning, traditionally associated with the name of Hippodamus. It is unfortunate that the row of houses completely uncovered lay on the edge of the hill, for a close examination of the plans and a comparison with later Hellenistic examples suggest that they have suffered a certain amount of erosion. They consist of a courtyard, entered by a passage through the range of small rooms lying next to the street. Most of these rooms open on to the courtyard, and form part of the main house, but in some cases they appear to have formed separate shops. Another side of the courtyard was occupied by the principal rooms of the house, often with fine mosaic floors, and if the conjectured erosion be correct a similar range would have formed the further side of the court. A verandah supported by columns ran in front of these two ranges, while the fourth side was formed by the wall of the next house. This was the normal plan of the houses uncovered on the North Hill. Modifications are found, and in some cases seem to be the result of later alterations (e.g. fig. 141, the cross wall in the foreground) though these are not noted.

The finds are not of exceptional interest apart from their value for determining the chronology of the smaller objects. Only the loom-weights, lamps, and terracottas are fully described in the present volumes.

C. A. R. R.

The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly. By H. O'NEILL HENCKEN. 7½ × 4½. Pp. xvii + 340. (The County Archaeologies.) London: Methuen, 1932. 10s. 6d.

Of all the English counties Cornwall is among the richest in archaeological remains of outstanding interest; and from its wealth in the rare metal, tin, it must have played an exceptional rôle in the economy of prehistoric Europe as a whole. Yet it is archaeologically the least-known district of Great Britain. Many of its striking monuments have been destroyed; others were explored before the days of scientific excavation and described inadequately in inaccessible works; the rest have remained forlorn and neglected till the last few years.

Dr. Hencken has conferred a great boon on us all both by his own methodical excavations at Chysauster and still more by gathering together from old books and dusty museums and by prolonged journeys over the field the fragments gleaned by his predecessors. His book thus fills a serious gap in British archaeology. Though writing primarily for the general public, the writer at the same time happily contrives to give most of the information needed by the research worker for comparative purposes: he is heartily to be congratulated on the skill with which he has met the requirements of two such different sets of readers. To supplement the technical information here given, however, Dr. Hencken promises to deposit copies of the thesis on which part of the present book is based in the British Museum and the Royal Institution of Cornwall at Truro.

The first chapter, devoted to the Stone Age relics, after figuring and describing the one lower palaeolithic hand-axe and some of the numerous, possibly mesolithic, pigmy flints found in the County, takes us eventually to Carn Brea. From this site the author describes and illustrates a couple of sherds which seem to be the westernmost examples in England of neolithic Windmill Hill pottery. Chapter II is occupied with megalithic monuments. Plans are given of the more important passage-graves and covered galleries of Scilly as well as of the chambered cairns and 'dolmens' of the mainland, the few relics therefrom being duly recorded and generally illustrated. Stone circles are similarly treated, attention being paid in each case to local superstitions and legends connected with the monuments. An appendix at the end of the volume gives the dimensions of all megalithic monuments. The Bronze Age occupies Chapter III. Two good maps illustrate the distribution respectively of megaliths and Early Bronze Age relics and of Late Bronze Age remains. In Chapter V we are introduced to the remarkable defensive and domestic structures of the Iron Age—the forts, the hut-clusters and the souterrains or fogous. Incidentally Hencken criticizes Leeds's views on the Spanish origin or connexions of the County's Iron Age culture, and indulges in some very apt comparisons between the architecture illustrated at Chysauster and that

of the Scottish brochs. It is not, however, quite correct to speak of any Scottish earth-house as being post-Roman. The Cornish tin trade is next discussed in a special chapter all to itself. This gives a clear account of the methods adopted in historical times for working tin locally, an objective analysis of the arguments in favour of Bronze Age exploitation to be derived from the distribution of remains, and a well-reasoned argument for the identification of Diodorus's Ictis with St. Michael's Mount. In this as in other chapters the author's thorough knowledge of the country is fully used to expound the geographical controls at work and to define the natural routes across the Peninsula as well as their extensions overseas.

The Romano-British period is treated briefly, having been already well described in the Victoria County History. But the Dark Ages that followed are exhaustively studied, literary evidence being combined with archaeological to lighten their darkness. The text is followed by a comprehensive archaeological gazetteer, a list of collections and museums, public and private, containing Cornish relics, and addenda on the latest discoveries—the hoard of gold objects from Amalveor and the Roman villa at Magor. There are seven distribution maps, small but clear, as well as a larger folding map of the County. The illustrations are plentiful and strictly relevant, but the photographs of pottery have in some cases suffered from excessive reduction. Finally, a thoroughly serviceable index materially enhances the practical value of the book.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

St. Thomas Becket in Art. By TANCRED BORENIUS. 10 x 6½. Pp. xix + 122. London: Methuen, 1932. 12s. 6d.

This volume is another evidence of the effort to systematize our knowledge of English medieval art by which Dr. Borenius is justifying his tenure of the Durning-Lawrence Professorship of the History of Art in the University of London. Its substance, dealing with the representations of that figure which looms so large in medieval England, St. Thomas of Canterbury, had already appeared in two papers in *Archaeologia*; but here the subject is presented to a larger public in a complete form, which is not likely to be superseded. Though much of the illustrative matter is English, the saint's European fame was reflected in works of art of all kinds on the Continent, and Dr. Borenius's familiarity with foreign churches and collections enables him to produce various examples which will be new to most readers. The range is very wide, including painting and sculpture of all kinds and in all materials, mosaics, enamels, embroidery, stained glass, brasses, seals, pilgrims' badges, etc. Though Thomas lost a good deal of his importance when his pilgrimage came to an end, the survey is not confined to the Middle Ages, and pictures are recorded and reproduced down to the nineteenth century. The book is richly illustrated.

After a preliminary chapter in which the main facts of Becket's life and personality are clearly brought out, the subject-matter is classified under three heads: representations of the saint by himself or in the company of other saints, scenes from his life, and lastly the treatment of

his death or martyrdom. Dr. Borenius has managed to make these sections attractive reading, not only by the variety of the examples, but by all sorts of interesting information. Thus, a picture at Venice is the occasion for a little digression on the saint's patronage of brewers and his attitude towards drink generally. Another deals with the little-known fact that, after St. Olaf of Norway, St. Thomas was the most popular saint in Iceland. The stories of his life are most fully illustrated in illuminated MSS. and glass, after which come the thirteenth-century wall-paintings in Brunswick Cathedral, due to the fact that Duke Henry's mother, Matilda, was a daughter of Henry II; just as the figure of the saint in the mosaics of Monreale will be connected with William of Sicily's marriage with her sister Joan. A third daughter Eleanor married Alfonso III of Castile, and must be partly responsible for the early introduction of the cult into Spain, though the only surviving example of importance is the little-known painting (c. 1200) in the apse of a church at Tarrasa near Barcelona, of which there is a full description with illustrations. New also to most English students will be the notable fifteenth-century German paintings; Meister Francke's altarpiece (1434) for the Hamburg traders, and the remains of another from Neustift (now at Graz) of the school of that remarkable Tyrolese artist Michael Pacher. Of exceptional interest is the late twelfth-century silver niello reliquary, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, though its connexion with John of Salisbury is little better than a guess.

The subject of the Martyrdom, as is well known, is represented in two ways, one of which keeps fairly close to the narrative of what happened on the afternoon of 29 December 1170, while the other shows the archbishop being killed while saying mass. The latter version, with its 'evident intention (as Dr. Borenius says) of laying a melodramatic stress on the horror of the scene and the enormity of the sacrilege', became very popular, though it never entirely replaced the more historical treatment. It was not altogether a late development, for it occurs, perhaps first, on the thirteenth-century Limoges enamelled chasses or reliquaries, to which Dr. Borenius devotes a good deal of attention. And it was as common in England as on the Continent, so that we may contrast the fine vaulting boss in the nave of Exeter Cathedral, where the archbishop is wearing a cope or cloak, with the more or less contemporary painting (c. 1350) in South Newington Church (Oxon.) where he is vested for mass. Though it may be said to have been the prevailing type during the Middle Ages, it was abandoned afterwards, and one of the latest representations illustrated by Dr. Borenius, an engraving of Pomarancio's picture in the English College at Rome, is as correct historically as the earliest, a miniature in a Harleian psalter of about 1200.

It is not easy for a reviewer to find anything to criticize in the work of such a scholarly and well-informed writer, who has given us a monograph which is a model of its kind. There are a few points, however, on which it may be worth while to comment. We are told (p. 16) that the pallium is missing in the majority of the representations of St. Thomas, and this is illustrated by two Italian altarpieces at Urbino and Venice.

But in both the saint is wearing a cope, whereas the pallium is only used with the mass vestments, and not always then. Perhaps this explains most of the other cases of its absence. The statement that he was enthroned on 3 June 1162, having first been ordained priest, omits the important fact of his episcopal consecration on 24th May; and we may note that it is not quite accurate to speak of his 'coronation' as archbishop (pp. 53, 56), for the imposition of the mitre is only one, and not the most important, of the acts of investiture in the rite of consecration, though sometimes chosen by artists as the characteristic moment. It is suggested that this was one of the scenes painted on the east wall of the FitzHamon chantry chapel in Tewkesbury Abbey. We shall await with interest the evidence for this and the other subjects; but it should at least have been stated that the very slight traces now visible would never have suggested anything definite had it not been for the record of a martyrdom of St. Thomas here, preserved in a MS. referred to in Bennett's *History of Tewkesbury* (1830).¹ As Robert FitzHamon died more than sixty years before St. Thomas, the latter must have figured here as the patron of Abbot Thomas Parker, who built the chapel in 1397. For the important scenes of his life in glass at Nettlestead it might have been as well to give references to the papers in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vi (1866) and xxviii (1909), where they are illustrated. We think, by the way, that 'domus' (i.e. the convent) rather than 'ecclesia' is to be understood in the line: 'Voce manu plaudens patri venit obvia gaudens'. As these series are not too common, the remains of the fifteenth-century one in the 'Parker' window of York Minster might have been mentioned as well as the earlier one in the Chapter House. For the great series of miracles in the Canterbury glass the reader is referred to Dr. Nelson's book, but it would have been better to mention the fuller and more authoritative accounts in Miss Williams's *Notes*, etc. (1897), and the late Canon Mason's *Guide to the Ancient Glass in Canterbury Cathedral* (1925). The 'Beaufort' Chapel, Warwick (p. 31, n. 3), is a slip for Beauchamp, and Cripplegate is misprinted Cricklegate (p. 16, n. 2). 'Radcliffe College, Exeter' (p. 26, n.) should be the college at Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreak near Leicester.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

The Great Church Towers of England, chiefly of the Perpendicular period.

By FRANK J. ALLEN, M.A., M.D. Cantab. 11 x 8½. Pp. xiv + 206, with frontispiece, 52 plates, and 188 illustrations in text. Cambridge: University Press, 1932. 45s.

This is a book for which we have been looking for a long time. So far as the present writer is aware no attempt has ever been made previously to classify the towers of English churches, by tracing the evolution and distribution of the various types. And yet they are strongly marked. The Somerset towers indeed have already been well illustrated and classified by more than one writer, notably by the author of this work himself. The late Francis Bond again, in his magnificent work on *English Church*

¹ Our attention was called to this by the Rev. E. G. Benson of Tewkesbury Abbey.

Architecture, illustrates many fine towers, known and unknown, but obviously the scope of his work did not permit a definite attempt at classification.

But any one who has travelled much over England and interested himself in the parish churches must be aware that certain types are peculiar to certain districts, and it would occasion much surprise to find them elsewhere. Apart from the Somerset group, perhaps the most notable instance is the Northamptonshire type, with or without broach spire, of which the Nene valley yields such beautiful examples. But there are many other local groups: the thirteenth-century Sussex type with low conical roof; the Wessex fifteenth-sixteenth-century type with heavy octagonal buttresses and tall pinnacles; the Cambridgeshire type with crenellated pinnacles; the Kentish and Bedfordshire types with angle-turret; and so on.

Dr. Allen has now been almost inevitably impelled by his study of Somerset towers to extend his researches all over England. Even so he has found it necessary to limit his field to spireless towers of the Perpendicular period, and to the finer examples of that large class. This is perhaps somewhat to be regretted. For not only are the plainer towers of the less important churches often interesting in themselves, at all events typologically, but to ignore them entirely may often mean the neglect of evidence for the development of the more ornate types. Towers like the rich Somerset ones can hardly be regarded as sudden outbreaks; they must be evolved from something earlier, like every other development of English architecture. It is intelligible that Dr. Allen felt himself unable to take the larger outlook, even in a volume of this size, but it is equally clear that no work on English church towers can be regarded as complete if only dealing with a limited aspect of the subject.

However, we are far from desiring to belittle a very valuable piece of work, which as far as it goes is a real joy to read and study. Never before has such a fascinating collection of architectural masterpieces been put together. The arrangement is of course geographical; the author recognizes eleven main typical groups, which cover the south-west and east of England and the Midlands, and reach as far as Yorkshire. As he points out, the south-eastern counties and those of the north-west Midlands and North afford little material for his purpose. In a few introductory pages he details his method of treatment. It seems, however, doubtful whether he is justified in regarding the glorious tower of his own church (Shepton Mallet) as marking a change from the spired tower to the spireless, in spite of the fact that it was obviously intended to carry a spire. For whatever reason, spires were never common in Somerset, where, as he notes, only sixteen now exist (in 480 churches). Unfortunately there are very few towers in the county earlier than the Perpendicular period which can be used as an argument.

The Somerset towers he divides into eight classes, and between seventy and eighty are illustrated. It is not quite clear why the very typical (and in the present writer's opinion exceptionally beautiful) tower of Chewton Mendip is regarded as a Devon type; but Dr. Allen may only mean that

it is eclectic, and combines typical features of other groups. Admittedly it has points of comparison with the fine Devon tower of Chittlehampton, which is more of a Somerset type than others in that county. We cordially endorse his opinion of Wrington tower, which Freeman greatly overrated, and his selection of Huish Episcopi and North Petherton as the two finest examples in the county.

It is surprising to find traces of Somerset influence as far away as Yorkshire; but they do not seem to the present writer to be very strongly marked. Dr. Allen thinks they may be accounted for by the Yorkshire origin of two Bishops of Bath and Wells between 1385 and 1425. He finds similar traces in the Lincoln-Northants type, and they are certainly strongly suggested at Titchmarsh near Oundle, which he calls the finest tower outside Somerset; but beautiful as the details are, it fails to impress, owing to lack of height.

An interesting group is the octagonal buttress type to which we have already referred, extending from Bath to Canterbury. The most typical examples are in Wilts, Berks, and north Hants. Few of these towers are of great beauty, but Magdalen tower, Oxford, is a notable exception. A remarkable tower in another district is the ornate one of Wrexham, probably a late reflection of Gloucester Cathedral, but far inferior to its beautiful neighbour at Gresford. These two stand alone in the north-western districts for richness. In the Gloucestershire section one would have liked to see some mention of a strongly-marked local group of plain but typical fifteenth-century towers in south Worcestershire and north Gloucestershire. Among these may be noted a series in the churches belonging to the Abbey of Evesham, which all present similar features. We are glad, however, to see the fine brick towers of Essex well illustrated. Though of late date they have a merit all their own. It is interesting to find a tower of the Bedfordshire type at Lambeth in south London.

One might enlarge for many pages on the various points of interest which this fascinating book suggests. For instance, why in Somerset are the towers usually rich and the churches comparatively plain, while in East Anglia it is usually the churches which are rich, and the towers, though often finely proportioned, much simpler in character? Or again, why is the stone spire rare except in the Midlands? Doubtless others more competent than the present writer may find more details to commend or criticize. But it must suffice to say here that the book will receive a hearty welcome from all, both professional and amateur, to whom the work of English Gothic architects is a joy for ever.

It remains to note that the illustrations are mainly excellent in execution, but apart from their artistic aspect, it may perhaps be thought that the half-tones are more satisfactory than the collotypes for reproduction of details. The printers might, too, with advantage, have paid more attention to the 'lay-out' of these pages of blocks; they are not always placed perfectly true, and in some cases the general effect is unpleasing, notably pp. 89, 110, and 149. The margins of the pages are sometimes too meagre, and in more than one case slightly crooked. It might also

have been an improvement to adopt running numbers for reference to the illustrations apart from the numbered plates. H. B. W.

The Blechley Diary of the Rev. William Cole M.A., F.S.A., 1765-67.

Edited by FRANCIS GRIFFIN STOKES with an introduction by HELEN WADDELL. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. lx + 392. London: Constable, 1931. 16s.

The names of Browne Willis and Cole and their voluminous and laborious works are both well known to antiquaries, and it was Browne Willis who presented the living of Bletchley to Cole in 1753, less as the Introduction to the Diary states 'to oblige a brother antiquary than to annoy the clerical sons-in-law who had fixed expectant eyes upon it'. The living was retained by the Rev. Wm. Cole till 1768 and it was therefore during the latter part of his incumbency that he wrote the Bletchley Diary.

On 1 January 1766 Cole observes that he has 'for 30 years kept a sort of Diary of the Weather and Journal of other things, being as was someone justly enough calls it, the Importance of a Man to his own Self.'

This entry is a very good summary of the contents, as the entries for nearly every day begin with a note of the weather followed by a narration of the events of the day. These events detail not only pastoral work but all social events, his state of health, and the current gossip, together with notes of extensive alterations to the Rectory and the grounds.

The Dissenters troubled him a good deal, and being pressed to baptize a child of one of his Parishioners in the Rectory he says that 'as the Discipline of our Church thro' the practices of the Dissenters is now so relaxed as to come to nothing, there is no parlying with your Parishioners on any point of Doctrine or Discipline: for if you are rigid they will either abstain from all ordinances or go over to the Dissenters: so I complied with her Request.' In another entry he refers to the fact that the Parish swarmed with Methodists.

The state of the roads worried him too. Rather than repair a certain stretch the local farmers said they could do tolerably well without the road by going a mile about, and it was left at that. A little later he was interested in Will Wood, who wanted to be married to the prettiest girl in the Parish, but the times were hard, small farms being difficult to be met with, 'the spirit of inclosing and accumulating Farms together making it very difficult for young people to marry as was used.'

At a Visitation in June forty-four Clergy dined with the Archdeacon but not one smoked tobacco. The county being dear and expensive for coal he refers in the same month to the making of cow dung into fuel.

He had a neighbour whose cattle breaking through fences caused him trouble, but decided to put up with the nuisance rather than go to law, being convinced 'of the fallacy of vaunting ourselves of the Blessedness of our English Constitution and the glory of Juries: when it is well known that a quarrelsome neighbour and of an active Spirit will probably get the better and trample upon one of a more peaceable Temper.'

In September he went to Weston Underwood to dine with Mrs. Throckmorton who was a Catholic and there 'saw their Chapel which

was up two pair of stairs in a sort of Garret but roomy and ordinary. The Tabernacle on the altar gilt and handsome.'

On 7 October he got in his Nonpareil Apples, Cressan and Beurré Pears, Golden Pippins etc., this being one of many entries relating to his garden and its produce.

On 11 January 1767 there was the greatest snow and severest weather he ever remembered and the Clerk was told to give notice that there would be no service in the afternoon it snowing all day in the largest flakes he ever saw.

The practices of the Doctors were not much esteemed by him, and he refers to the case of a woman in extremis for whom the Doctor ordered blistering on the head and other violent operations which seemed of no import and would only torment the poor woman. With the Gentry round he frequently drank tea, exchanged gifts of food and other items; and notes as to the principal personages mentioned form a useful section of the Introduction.

To those interested in local events, personages, and country life of the period and a free expression of opinion thereon, this Diary is commended.

F. W. B.

Les églises de France. Morbihan. Par GUSTAVE DUHEM. 11 x 8½. Pp. viii + 227. Paris: Letouzey, 1932. 80 francs.

This is the first volume of an important undertaking which projects the systematic survey of the churches of each department of France in turn, somewhat on the lines of the inventories of our own Commissions on Historical Monuments. The publication is under the control of a Committee directed by our Honorary Fellow M. Marcel Aubert, with M. Jean Verrier as general editor. The scheme furthermore has the active support of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Art, the Commission of the Monuments historiques, of the Société française d'Archéologie and of the Touring-club de France.

The first volume, before us, deals with the south Breton department of Morbihan. The churches of the department are arranged alphabetically under parishes and are fully illustrated from photographs, the more important being provided also with plans. The department does not contain any building of outstanding importance, the cathedral of Vannes having been greatly altered, but the survey provides an efficient and complete inventory of everything of ecclesiastical interest surviving within its limits. The Gothic architecture of Brittany is perhaps the closest akin to our own of any of the French provinces, and the village churches have the modest unpretentiousness which is so characteristic of the corresponding buildings of England.

We welcome the beginning of this undertaking and congratulate the Director and his colleagues both on their courage in initiating such a survey and on the successful and attractive appearance of the first volume of the series. It can be thoroughly recommended both to the antiquary for the care and exactitude of its descriptions, and also to the wider public of amateurs of medieval art and architecture.

Georgian England. A survey of social life, trades, industry and art from 1700 to 1820. By A. E. RICHARDSON, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. 9 x 6. Pp. viii + 202. London: Batsford, 1931. 21s.

Life and its fascinating manifestations in the eighteenth century form a study which is, perhaps, scarcely within the province of the antiquary, and reference may here only be made to one or two of the varied chapters of Professor Richardson's interesting book.

One valuable service the author has rendered is in drawing attention to the good things which the Georgian period produced, and, especially, to those which remain. We are thereby prompted to take greater care of them. The architecture of the time is of particular interest, and Professor Richardson gives a fair proportion of his space to it. It seems to have been the less ambitious of the builders (they were hardly to be called architects) who built the charming eighteenth-century dwelling-houses of the more modest type. It is doubtful if any period has produced better houses than these. In dealing with the earlier part of his period, Mr. Richardson prints an advertisement of the time of Queen Anne. This is an excellent description of a house of the time, and is worth quoting here:

'To be let, a New Brick House, built after the Newest Fashion, the Rooms wainscotted and painted, Loftly Stories, Marble Foot paces to the Chimneys, Sash Windows, glaised with fine Crown Glass, large half Pace Stairs, that 2 people may go up on a Breast, in a new pleasant Court planted with Vines, Jesamin, and other Greens, next door to the Crown, near the Sarazens Head Inn in Carter Lane, near St. Paul's Church Yard, London'. We may believe that this was a well-built and conveniently-placed dwelling.

Mr. Richardson remarks that 'it was the system of apprenticeship that probably had most effect in keeping alive the traditions of good building.' Those traditions were customary methods of the craft which had persisted for centuries, and the nice old courts and squares were the result.

This book provides us with a picture of a period that was very different from our own. Even the Crown and the Sarazen's Head seem to have been reputable, useful places, near which it was an advantage to live! But the eighteenth century was by no means a time of perfection, and the author does not neglect its sordid by-ways. Unfortunately, in doing away with the bad, much of the good has also been destroyed, and we are not wholly content with what we have got instead.

The author has chosen a most excellent series of illustrations, and they are finely reproduced. The eighteenth century has a very wide appeal, greater to-day perhaps than ever, and its students will welcome this useful addition to its literature.

J. G. NOPPEN.

Le Origini della Civiltà Italiana. Di Ugo Rellini. 8 x 5½. Pp. 120. Roma; Libreria di Scienze e Lettere del Dott. G. Bardi, 1929-VIII.

This book is founded on Professor Rellini's inaugural lecture on Paleo-Ethnology. To this have been added more detailed notes, dealing with those points on which the general reader is likely to seek further

information. In a work of this size a full documentation of all the questions discussed is obviously impossible, but these additions and the footnotes provide references to the original articles where the author's views are developed in greater detail. Rellini's main thesis is the antiquity of the Mediterranean race in Italy and its importance in the prehistory of the Peninsula. He considers that its oldest representative, the Maiella skeleton, probably belongs to the end of the quaternary epoch. The evidences of continuity between the pre-neolithic and neolithic cultures are stressed, and the hypothesis of a large immigration, responsible for the latter, is rejected. The arrival of small groups during the Copper Age would account for the alien elements found on coastal sites, while the more extensive intrusion of the Terramaricoli during the Bronze Age produced important ritual and linguistic modifications in the native culture.

C. A. R. R.

A History of English Art in the Middle Ages. By O. ELFRIDA SAUNDERS. 8 x 5½. Pp. xxii + 272. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1932. 12s. 6d.

This small book is obviously the product of much enthusiasm, and the author has examined a wide variety of examples, and drawn upon a large body of authoritative literature in the course of its compilation. Lethaby, James, Cockerell, Millar, and Prior and Gardner figure prominently in the bibliographies. These are conveniently placed at the end of each of the eighteen short studies which form the book. The author is also to be congratulated upon having provided an admirable series of illustrations, a task which calls for much energy and care.

In her preface, Miss Saunders refers to the difficulty of covering so wide a field, and in a work of this size the task was not possible. Indeed, the title of the book must be said rather to overstate its scope. Nevertheless, it should, as the author hopes, 'encourage others to take up the fascinating study of the various branches of English medieval art.'

Miss Saunders has hesitated to burden her pages with footnotes, mainly confining her acknowledgements to a place in the bibliographies; but those who are likely to form the bulk of her readers might have been helped by more frequent, precise reference to the authority used.

In considering the text, it may be of interest to mention the 'tables' painted by Peter of Spain (p. 116) and 'tabernacle' by Master William (p. 166). Miss Saunders states that the former were paid for in 1272, and that the latter was painted in the same year; but she has here been misled. The two items form part of an account of the transactions of William of Gloucester, King's Goldsmith, who died either late in 1268, or early in 1269. This account is recorded in both the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls for 1272. The 'tables' are probably identical with two for which Peter was given a bond in 1258, with a promise 'to pay as soon as possible' (Patent Rolls 42 Henry III) and, as the debt was discharged by William, it must have been cleared before his death. So, also, William's tabernacle must have been painted before 1269. The date of these items is of particular interest and importance. The account

in which they appear was compiled by William's executors, and the Barons of the exchequer had instructions to audit it (Close Rolls, 1 Edward I). It seems that there was some concern respecting the 'great sums of money' which the goldsmith had handled.

Miss Saunders' authority, in this matter, seems to have been the late W. R. Lethaby who, although he was aware of the peculiarities of the 1272 account, often quoted it without explanation. Nor has Miss Saunders read him aright when she states that the wall-painting of the coronation of St. Edward was 'thought by Professor Lethaby to have been the tabernacle'. His comment, in his lecture to the British Academy, was that the coronation painting 'may have been the work of Master William who in 1272 was paid 20 marks "for painting the tabernacle round the king's bed in his chamber"'. He later asks us to imagine 'the great canopied bed elaborately painted, the picture of the Confessor close by', etc.

In her chapter on Gothic manuscripts, Miss Saunders states that the British Museum Apocalypse, Add. 35166, is a 'good example of the type connected with St. Albans'; but this is rather bold. No. 35166 belongs to a different family of apocalypses from that which Dr. M. R. James has suggested was connected with St. Albans. The relationship of the British Museum book is a question of some delicacy. Indeed, its most remarkable feature is the inclusion in its cycle of the story of the young robber, which, otherwise, is only found in the Trinity College Apocalypse, and the latter, although Dr. James has with considerable hesitation associated it with St. Albans, is also outside the family, a fact which Dr. James admitted was a weak point in his case. 35166 he regarded as an 'adherent' of the group, and that is as far as it is possible to go.

But though we may take up the cudgels with Miss Saunders on a few points here and there, we must recommend her book as the handiest introduction to a very wide subject that has so far appeared. She has dealt generally with her subject, as space necessitated; but she has provided the student with a basis for special research into any of its branches. The book is not a classic: the author flits over her big field with an amateur eagerness likely to tempt her readers to investigate further for themselves, and this seems to have been her aim. The modest size of this book will not disguise from the reader the fact that it is the product of great industry, and such manifestations are always inspiring.

J. G. NOPPEN.

Les fraudes en archéologie préhistorique avec quelques exemples de comparaison en archéologie générale et sciences naturelles. By A. VAYSON DE PRADENNE. 10 x 6½. Pp. viii + 676 with 46 plates. Paris: Nourry, 1932.

Prehistoric archaeology is peculiarly exposed to fraud for various reasons: as a comparatively young science, the canons of the normal are still vague, the limits of the possible ill-defined (but to-day the sanctity of such norms and limits is perhaps less absolute in other domains than heretofore). An archaeological 'experiment' can seldom, even theoretically,

be repeated: the excavation of a barrow, for instance, is a final and irrevocable act, leaving nothing that can subsequently be 'checked'. Prehistoric studies are still largely in the hands of amateurs, who need possess little scientific training and in whom self-conceit may replace the humble thirst for knowledge. Worst of all, prehistory lies close to the domain of the curio-hunter and collector wherein a well-established and highly profitable trade in the faking of antiques from scarabs to chairs flourishes openly. Thus our science has been the victim of numerous frauds that may rise to the formidable proportions of a Glozel.

The chief French exposé of that fraud has done a further service to prehistoric science by publishing the present inductive study of the procedures of frauds in general. The first part of the book is devoted to a critical account of a series of notable deceptions that can to-day be reviewed quite dispassionately, the principal actors being no longer on the stage. In each case the author describes first the general state of the science at the time, the characters of the agents, the process of the fraud's development, and the stages of its exposure from the first murmurs of doubts to the conclusive refutation—if any. Thus he gives us very fully documented yet highly entertaining accounts of the activities of Flint Jack in England, of the deception of the founder of diluvial archaeology by the Moulin Quignon jaw, of the 'Clyde Mystery' popularized by Andrew Lang, supplemented by parallels from allied domains such as the truly delectable tales of the false autographs of Michel Chasles and the famous tiara of Saïtaphernes. Peculiarly instructive is the affair of the Egyptian flints alleged to have been found on the island of Riou, near Marseilles. Vayson manages to convey with admirable delicacy how a distinguished countryman of his own not only rashly published as local discoveries a set of typical Fayum flints planted for his delectation (as he afterwards frankly admitted), but also manufactured a stratigraphy for this salted 'gisement' (which he never explained). The reviewer cannot help wondering whether the stratigraphy of le Campigny described by the same savant were not of the same fictitious nature.

From the data provided by this summary of famous frauds, which makes no claim to completeness and might easily be enlarged, Vayson goes on to demonstrate how similar phenomena recur again and again. The motives of the forger indeed vary: from the desire to gratify a harmless idiot or to trick an omniscient busybody to mere pecuniary greed whether for a few francs or for a small fortune. But the publication is nearly always left to a dupe, a reputable and honest archaeologist. These are themselves innocent of any intent to deceive (though not apparently incapable of describing as observed a stratigraphy that in reality only ought to have existed!), but are themselves deceived, often through defects in their own characters (national sentiment or personal ambition). And they unconsciously co-operate with the trickster, affording him indications of the sort of thing that ought to be 'found' or 'observed', i.e. manufactured. The arguments used by the dupes have a monotonous similarity—appeals to the unlikelihood of 'ignorant workmen' inventing such an object and at the same time to its analogy to better authenticated finds, supplemented by

entirely illegitimate appeals to authority, to passion, or to the judgement of the mob. In fact it is the reaction of the dupes rather than any intrinsic qualities of the forgeries that appear from this account as the most distinctive and general indicators of trickery.

Indeed, the reader of Monsieur Vayson's narratives will be left in a very uncomfortable state of scepticism. Despite the useful hints given at the end of the book for the detection of fakes, one must conclude that technical criteria can only be applied by the average archaeologist to the exposure of relatively clumsy forgeries. At the same time the limits of the possible in prehistory are so vague that, apart from flagrant contradictions, they eliminate nothing. I have myself dug up four objects which I could not effectively defend against attack either on technical grounds (primitive processes of manufacture being easy to reproduce without the intervention of metal tools) or by appeals to really relevant parallels. I could not even prove that the objects had not been planted. My sole defence if challenged must have been that neither the workmen nor the excavator gained any special profit or even prestige from these oddities, and that the site as a whole was repeatedly visited by independent observers during excavation.

The conviction remains that every object the least abnormal, when not obtained in the course of regular, controlled excavation must be regarded as suspect. Indeed every excavation productive of surprises or even confirming cherished theories of the excavator ought, it seems, to be regarded with no less suspicion when it is not controlled by visits from independent observers. At this rate the acquisition of facts in prehistory will be a slow process!

The English may perhaps derive some small comfort from the circumstance that the most glaring and persistent frauds were perpetrated in countries where criticism is traditionally frank and brutal. The only extensive fraud in this country which has had any lasting repercussions is that of Dunbuck and Dunbuie which Munro exposed with ruthless directness. The normal English practice of greeting well-sponsored forgeries with (at worst) polite silence may perhaps after all be the safest road to ensure their eventual burial. But it is not the attitude recommended by Vayson; to him every one who out of laziness, courtesy, or like motives fails to fall upon the fraud ferociously is a coward and a traitor. At the same time the reader will be struck by the part played by Englishmen, John Evans, Seton-Karr, etc., in unmasking forgeries abroad.

In sum, every worker should read this book. He will find in it not only very salutary, if depressing, warnings but much entertainment.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

Periodical Literature

Archaeologia, vol. 81, contains:—A West Country school of masons, by Sir Harold Brakspear; Addenda to the iconography of St. Thomas of Canterbury, by T. Borenius; Excavations at Chun Castle in Penwith, Cornwall (second report), by E. T. Leeds; The Easby Cross, by Miss Margaret Longhurst; On Palm-tree crosses, by W. L. Hildburgh; Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople, by T. Macridy Bey and S. Casson; The fourteenth-century glass at Wells, by Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson.

Antiquity, June 1932, contains:—A prehistoric metropolis: the first Verulamium, by R. E. M. Wheeler; Balloon photography and archaeological excavation, by P. L. O. Guy; The Kelts in Britain, by I. C. Peate; British hanging bowls, by T. D. Kendrick; A chronological table of prehistory, by M. Burkitt and V. G. Childe; Chronology of prehistoric Europe: a review, by V. G. Childe; Communal burial; The name of the giant of Cerne; Palaeolithic axes from Transjordan; Harpoon found in the North Sea; Archaeological research in Turkey.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, April 1932, contains:—The first Sikh war, 1845-6; The castle of Inniskilling in 1593-4; The Warwickshire Militia in 1759-60; Forerunner of the Army Council, by Major O. F. G. Hogg.

Journal of the British Archaeological Association, new series, vol. 37, part 2, contains:—The date and orientation of Stonehenge, by Lt.-Col. R. H. Cunington; Cattle-droving between Scotland and England, by W. Thompson; The screen in St. Mary's church, Attleborough, Norfolk; Frisia and its relations with England and the Baltic littoral in the Dark Ages, by Col. N. T. Belaiew; Valentia: the pre-Rome Palatine settlement, by S. R. Forbes; In the palmy days of Boston; the Hospitallers of St. John and the men of St. Botolph at Skirbeck, by W. T. Whitley.

The British Museum Quarterly, vol. 7, no. 1, includes:—Early Chinese bronzes; Three objects from 'Iraq; A seal of Mohenjo-Daro type; A Roman glass flask from Richborough; A rare coin of Augustus; English and ancient British coins; Leaves of a St. Albans abbey Chartulary; A register of Fountains abbey; A commercial truce with Flanders, 1334; A survey of the Wotton estate.

The Burlington Magazine, May 1932, includes:—A Buddhist statue from China, by W. P. Yetts; Anatolian faience from Kutiyeh, by R. H. R. Brocklebank; Some wasters from Sultanieh, by D. Talbot Rice; A loan exhibition of medieval art, by Tancred Borenius; The Great Seal of Frederick Prince of Wales, 1707-1751, by R. Laird Clowes.

June 1932 includes: Three new glass vessels painted in lustre, by A. L. B. Ashton; An unknown portrait of Henri III of France, by F. M. Kelly.

July 1932 includes: The Nine Worthies, by H. C. Marillier.

The Connoisseur, June 1932, includes:—Treasures of Coutts' Bank, by Mrs. W. Hodgson; Three Sussex fire-backs, by T. Pape; A superb statue of the Lorraine School, by C. R. Beard; Verre églomisé, by F. S. Eden.

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. 18, parts 1 and 2, contains:—A magical ivory, by A. W. Shorter; Iron in Egypt, by G. A. Wainwright; Entertainment in the villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt, by W. L. Westermann; An Egyptian in Babylonia, by S. Smith; On Egyptian art, by H. Frankfort; The art of the Amarnah period, by Elaine Tankard; King Ay, the successor of Tuthankamūn, by P. E. Newberry; Scribes' palettes in the British Museum, by S. R. K. Glanville; The occurrence of natron in ancient Egypt, by A. Lucas; The Keftiu spell, by F. G. Gordon; A petition for relief from a guardianship, by A. E. R. Boak; Bibliography.

Ancient Egypt, March 1932, contains:—The palaces of ancient Gaza: Tell el Ajjul, by Sir Flinders Petrie; Ancient defences of Tell el Ajjul, by Lt.-Col. N. P. Clarke; Statuette of Pepy from Saqqara, by R. Engelbach; A town of old Nubia, by J. H. Dunbar.

Folklore, vol. 43, no. 2, includes a paper on the murderers of St. Thomas Becket in popular tradition, by Tancred Borenus.

The Geographical Journal, vol. 60, no. 1, includes:—The site of Alexander's battle of the Hydaspes and the battle with Poros, by Sir Aurel Stein; The Assassins' castle at Lambesar, by F. Stark.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 52, part 1, contains:—Grey wares from Lesbos, by W. Lamb; The campaign of Marathon, by F. Maurice; Bathycles and the Laconian vase-painters, by J. M. Woodward; The tithe of Apollo and the harmost at Decelea, 413-404 B.C., by H. W. Parke; Trebizond, a medieval citadel and palace, by D. Talbot Rice; Droop cups, by P. N. Ure; The chronology of the eponymous archons of Boeotia, by C. Barratt; Hero's and pseudo-Hero's adjustable siphons, by A. G. Drachmann; Keftiu, by G. A. Wainwright; On the occurrence of tin in Asia Minor, by F. W. von Bissing; The Orient and Greece, by R. W. Hutchinson.

The English Historical Review, July 1932, contains:—Manerium cum Hundredo: The Hundred and the Hundredal manor, by Miss H. M. Cam; The King's ministers in Parliament: iii, The Parliaments of Edward III, by H. G. Richardson and G. Sayles; The knights' attendance in the Parliaments of Edward III, by K. L. Wood-Legh; Episcopal administration in England in the eighteenth century, by Rev. Prof. N. Sykes; Henry Plantagenet's early visits to England, by A. L. Poole; Richard II and the death of the Duke of Gloucester, by A. E. Stamp; Johan Bischoff's Prologue, by J. M. Clark; Sir Anthony Standen and some Anglo-Italian letters, by Miss K. M. Lea.

History, April 1932, includes:—The recent trend of medieval studies, by Prof. Powicke and Prof. C. Stephenson; Some notes on Italian history, by Prof. Foligno; Historical revision: lxi, The Goldsmiths in *La Strada*, London, 1497, by Miss Jeffries Davis.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, June 1932, includes:—The dating and delivery of letters patent and writs in the fourteenth century, by J. E. Willard; The bibliographical history of Hall's Chronicle,

by G. Pollard; The accessibility of archives (*addenda*): xxxii, New Zealand; Select documents: xx, A changeling member of Parliament, by A. F. Pollard; Summaries of theses: lxxxvii, The pastoral custom and local wool trade of medieval Sussex, by A. M. M. Melville, lxxxviii, The economic and political preliminaries of the crusade of 1383, by A. P. R. Coulborn, lxxxix, The theories of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly concerning forms of government in church and state, by Agnes E. Roberts, xc, The influence and development of the industrial gilds . . . under James I and Charles I, by F. J. Fisher.

The Library, vol. 13, no. 1, contains:—The development of book-binding methods: Coptic influence, by Douglas Cockerell; Bibliographical clues in collaborate plays, by M. St. C. Byrne; The manuscripts of St. George's chapel, Windsor, by M. R. James; King Henry VI's claim to France: in picture and poem, by B. J. H. Rowe; The library of a physician *circa* 1700, by E. Hobhouse; Hazlitt's Grammar abridged, by G. Keynes.

The Mariner's Mirror, vol. 18, no. 3, includes:—Fresh evidence concerning the French Jacks of 1790, by C. King; Junks of the Canton River and West River system, by Lieut. H. Lovegrove; *The Constant Warwick*, by A. W. Johns; British battleships of 1870: *The Royal Oak* and *Royal Albert*, by Admiral G. A. Ballard; The ships of the American navy in the war of 1812, by H. I. Chapelle; Primitive craft: evolution or diffusion, by H. H. Brindley; Disinfecting ships in 1758; Warrants for Surgeon (1717) and Surgeon's mate (about 1705).

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 5th series, vol. 8, part 2, includes:—Ballard's Roll of Arms; Pedigree of Bull of Kinghurst Hall, near Coleshill, Warwick; A register of the Bulls of Kinghurst Hall, 1716; The Wyatt family; Some pedigrees and coats of arms from the Visitations of London; The family of Hull of Blaris, co. Down; Monumental inscriptions in the church and churchyard of St. Mary's, Wimbledon.

The Numismatic Chronicle, 5th series, vol. 11, part 4, contains:—The bronze medallions of Gordianus III, by K. Pink; The Pipe Rolls and 'Defalta Monetarium', by W. C. Wells; The coinage of the Sultans of Malwa, by H. N. Wright; Coins in Lincoln museum; Alexandrian coins of Antinous; Roman coins from Norfolk; A late hoard of Æ 3 and Æ 4 from Egypt; An Eastern hoard of late Æ; The Nobottle Theodosian hoard (corrigenda).

Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, July 1932, includes:—Recent discoveries of the Joint Expedition to Samaria, by J. W. Crowfoot; Excavations at Beth-Shan in 1931, by G. M. Fitzgerald; Jericho: city and necropolis, by J. Garstang; The Rās-esh-Shamra tablets, by J. P. Naish.

The Journal of Roman Studies, vol. 22, part 1, contains the following papers presented to Sir George Macdonald on his seventieth birthday:—A bibliography of Sir George Macdonald's published writings; The helmet of Constantine with the Christian monogram, by A. Alföldi; The genesis of Diocletian's provincial reorganization, by J. G. C. Anderson; Three Caistor pottery kilns, by D. Atkinson; Roman engineering works

and their aesthetic character, by G. Baldwin Brown; Roman garrisons in the north of Britain, by E. Birley; Some notes on coast defences, by J. P. Bushe-Fox; Roman drift in Caledonia, by J. Curle; Some notes on Polybius's description of Roman camps, by E. Fabricius; Hoards of Roman coins found in Britain, by H. Mattingly; The Irish analogies for the Romano-British barn-dwelling, by I. A. Richmond; The caravan gods of Palmyra, by M. I. Rostovtzeff; Notes on building-construction in Roman Britain, by R. E. M. Wheeler.

Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, vol. 9, contains:—Cavaliers and Covenanters: the Crookham affray of 1678, by R. C. Bosanquet; Note on a series of unrecorded incised rocks at Lordenshaws, by E. R. Newbigin; The origins of the Northumbrian pipes, by G. Askew; The Danish neolithic pottery from the coast of Durham, by V. Gordon Childe; The Thomas James Bell collection of coins, with some notes on points of interest, by Betty Burn; The cathedral church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by H. L. Honeyman and T. Wake; Warkworth castle, by G. Reavell; Conjectural construction of turret no. 18 a on Hadrian's Wall, by Parker Brewis; Excavations at Chesterholm-Vindolana, 1931, by E. Birley; Excavations at Housesteads in 1931, by E. Birley, J. Charlton, and W. P. Hedley; The Allan crosier, by J. D. Cowen; Excavations on Hadrian's wall between Heddon-on-the-Wall and North Tyne in 1931, by E. Birley, P. Brewis, and F. C. Simpson.

The Berkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. 36, no. 1, contains:—The architectural history of St. Matthew's church, Harwell, by J. W. Walker; A Berkshire enclosure by mutual consent, 1794, by E. W. Dormer; A Romano-British building at Knowl Hill, Berks., by W. A. Seaby; C. R. Sherbourne's Berkshire views, by E. Axon; Coats of arms in Berkshire churches, by P. S. Spokes; The swan-marks of Berkshire, by N. F. Ticehurst; Brasses and mural monuments in Shinfield church, by Meta E. Williams; Discovery of human remains at Caversham.

The Bradford Antiquary, June 1932, contains:—Plundered goods, 1642; Stott Hill hall and its associations, by W. Robertshaw; Heatoncum-Clayton; The yeoman clothier of the seventeenth century: his home and his loom-shop, by W. B. Crump; Shipley homage, circa 1644; The Crown and the manor of Bradford, 1609; Some local holy wells, by W. E. Preston; Quaker sketches, by H. R. Hodgson; The penalty for refusing a knighthood, 1630; A loan in Civil War days, 1643; Manningsham in the reign of James I, by W. Robertshaw; Note on early schools, by H. I. Judson.

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, vol. 53, contains:—Proceedings at the meetings at Micheldean, Goodrich, English Bicknor, Newland, and Cirencester; The wool trade and the woolmen of Gloucestershire, by J. J. Simpson; The roof-bosses in Gloucester cathedral, by C. J. P. Cave; Early road planning in the middle Cotswolds, by Brig.-Gen. A. C. Painter; Hill, Gloucestershire, by H. Jenner-Fust; The chancel of St. John Baptist, Inglesham, Wilts., by W. H. Knowles; A sixteenth-century monument in Westbury-on-Trym

church, by Ida M. Roper and C. R. Hudleston ; The Tudor relief portrait in stone at Prinknash, by St. C. Baddeley ; The early lords of Little Rissington, by Rev. A. L. Browne ; The west wall of Glevum, by St. C. Baddeley ; The proboscidean remains found at Barnwood, near Gloucester, by K. S. Sandford ; Stone pulpits of Gloucestershire, by Dina Portway Dobson ; Folklore notes, by Rev. R. J. Burton ; Gloucestershire words, expressions, and superstitions ; Dea Roma, by St. C. Baddeley ; A Bristol alchemist, by M. Nierenstein ; Gloucester Roman Research Committee, Report 1931-2.

Records of Buckinghamshire, vol. 12, no. 6, contains :—The iconography of Bucks., by M. R. James ; Boothby Pagnell manor house, by F. W. Bull ; Lord Chesterfield at Eythorpe ; Little Missenden wall-paintings, by E. W. Tristram ; Little Missenden church structural features, by E. C. Rouse ; Some additional trade tokens of Bucks., by E. Hollis.

Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, vol. 5, part 2, contains :—A Romano-British village in Huntingdonshire, by J. R. Garrod ; Finds on rebuilding Post Bridge, St. Neots, by C. F. Tebbutt ; Excavations at Wintringham, St. Neots, by C. F. Tebbutt ; Romano-British living-site at Colne, Hunts., by C. F. Tebbutt ; The Borough of Huntingdon and Domesday Book, by S. Inskip Ladds ; Rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars : Little Stukeley Register, by Rev. E. H. Vigers.

Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, vol. 27, part 2, includes :—Local history from the Howdenshire Poll-Tax roll, by Col. P. Saltmarsh ; Account of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the granting of the charter to Hull ; Dislocation of the femur upon the acetabular notch in a pre-Roman Briton, by M. F. Ashley-Montagu ; Hull shipping pictures ; An Anglo-Saxon necklace from Yorkshire, by C. Green ; Early pottery on the Yorkshire Wolds ; Bronze-Age beaker from the Yorkshire Wolds ; An Anglian cinerary urn from Hibaldstow, Kirton-in-Lindsey, by C. Green.

Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, new series, vol. 20, part 2, contains :—The De Tanys of Stapleford Tawney, by L. R. Buttle ; The Extent of Lawling, A.D. 1310, by J. F. Nichols ; Admissions to Essex livings by the 'Triers', by Rev. H. Smith ; Further finds from the Roman pottery shop in Colchester, by M. R. Hull ; Visitations held in the Archdeaconsry of Essex in 1684, by Rev. W. J. Pressey ; Wall-paintings in Essex churches, by Rev. G. M. Benton ; Two Roman sites at Finchingfield, by J. G. Covernton ; The Mantels of Little Maldon, by the late J. H. Round ; Fingringhoe bridge, by Rev. G. M. Benton ; Camulodunum : excavations at Colchester, 1930-1, by C. Hawkes ; Dedication of Copford Church ; Monumental brasses at South Weald and Leyton ; Dury Falls in Hornchurch ; Pass, dated 30 November 1590, for John Smith of Bocking ; Early Essex windmills ; Carved wooden Agnus Dei in Saffron Walden museum ; Essex chapels ; Inhumation burials of the Roman period discovered at Colchester ; Great Birch old church ; Painted doors at Great Bromley church ; A painted font in Great Maplestead church.

The Essex Review, July 1932, includes:—Thomas Hooker and John Eliot, ii, by J. Berridge; Discoveries at Colchester castle, by W. G. Benham; An old charity trust, by E. Dilliway; Sportsmen in Roman Colchester, by W. G. Benham.

Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeological Society, vol. 2, part 2, includes:—A late Bronze Age urnfield at Barnes, Isle of Wight, and notes on the late Bronze Age in the Isle of Wight, by G. C. Dunning; Cinerary urn from Calbourne; Barrow on Headon Hill Warren; Barrow near Kingston; Belgic incineration at Lake, Sandown; Palstave from Colwell Bay; Roman coins and potsherd.

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, no. 17, includes:—Temples and kings in ancient Egypt, by G. D. Hornblower; The magic of kings, by M. A. Canney; God as king, by A. E. Silverstone; The meaning of מֶלֶךְ in Job v, 24, by F. D. Coggan.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 16, no. 2, includes:—The Etruscan influence on Roman religion, by R. S. Conway; An early chapter of the story of *Homo sapiens*, by H. J. Fleure; Two lives of archbishop Chichele, by E. F. Jacob; A fragment of a Witham Charterhouse chronicle and Adam of Dryburgh, Premonstratensian and Carthusian of Witham, by E. Margaret Thompson; Letters of the First Babylonian dynasty, by T. Fish.

Norfolk Archaeology, vol. 22, part 3, contains:—The Augustinian priory of Weybourne, Norfolk, by F. H. Fairweather; A Norfolk dissenter's letter, 1662, by Rev. A. G. Matthews; A Norfolk vicar's charm against ague, by W. R. Dawson; The church of St. Bartholomew, Ber Street, Norwich, by C. J. W. Messent; Two certificates of a solemn penance, by A. Hamilton Thompson; Medieval painted glass in Norfolk, by Rev. C. Woodforde; Medieval glass in East Harling church, by Rev. C. Woodforde; Church plate in Norfolk: deaneries of East and West Fincham, Lynn Marshland, and Wisbech, by Ven. H. S. Radcliffe; Literature relating to Norfolk archaeology and kindred subjects, by G. A. Stephen; A new brass at Wood Dalling; A Roman causeway; Portable altar at Salthouse church; Who was John de Erlham?

Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society, vol. 77, contains:—Report of the annual meeting at Minehead; School museums, by W. Wyndham; Battlegore, Williton, by H. St. George Gray; Cleeve abbey: recent discoveries, by F. C. Eeles; The Nettlecombe font with representations of the Seven Sacraments, by A. C. Fryer; The disused ancient clock in Porlock church, by F. J. Allen; West Country hobby-horses and cognate customs, H. W. Kille; Rude stone monuments of Exmoor, by H. St. George Gray; Glastonbury abbey excavations, 1930-1, by Sir Charles Peers, A. W. Clapham, and Very Rev. Prior Horne; Monumental brasses in Somerset, i, by A. B. Connor; Barton Grange, by A. W. Vivian-Neal; Mars Rigisanus, by R. G. Collingwood; The Lytes of Lytescary, supplement, by Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte; Bronze implements, Old Cleeve, by H. St. George Gray; Dun's Stone, remains of stone circle, by H. St. George Gray; Human skeleton found at Frome, by H. St. George Gray; Saxon cemetery, Camerton; Heraldic

stained glass at Pitminster, by A. W. Vivian-Neal ; Lead cistern formerly at Barton Grange, by A. W. Vivian-Neal ; The Saxon charters of Somerset, v, by G. B. Grundy.

Transactions of the Southend-on-Sea Antiquarian and Historical Society, vol. 2, no. 2, includes :—The East Saxons of Prittlewell, by W. Pollitt ; The place-names of the Rochford Hundred, by P. H. Reaney ; Milton Hall: the Compotus of 1299, by J. F. Nichols.

Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, vol. 21, part 1, contains :—Early Suffolk heraldry, by Rev. E. Farrer ; Restoration and reconstruction of All Saints, Thorndon, by Rev. H. A. Harris ; Two unusual subjects in Long Melford church, by C. Woodforde.

Sussex Notes and Queries, vol. 4, no. 2, includes :—Charlston manor house, by W. H. Godfrey ; Sussex lands held by English religious houses situated outside the county : ii, the lands of Godstow abbey in Wiston and Old Shoreham ; Suggestions on the lay-out of two Roman roads, by Brig.-Gen. E. G. Godfrey-Faussett ; Sussex entries in London parish registers, by W. H. Challen ; The churchwardens' accounts of West Tarring, by Rev. W. J. Pressey ; Katherine ?, by Brig.-Gen. F. Lambarde ; Sussex church plans: St. Andrew, Edburton ; The Sussex manors of Francis Carewe ; Elizabethan plan of Buckhurst Park ; The Greek vases from Selsey ; Robert Fry, M.P. for Shoreham, 1385, etc ; A British gold ring and a fencing foil from Slinfold.

Transactions of the Thoroton Society, vol. 35, contains :—Bothamsall castle, Haughton hall, Haughton chapel, Haughton grammar school and Norwell, by T. M. Blagg ; Owthorpe church, by Rev. J. E. H. Wood ; The church bells of Nottinghamshire, by Rev. R. F. Wilkinson ; An itinerary of Nottingham, by J. Holland Walker ; A list of words illustrating the Nottinghamshire dialect, by E. L. Guilford ; Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, by J. Bramley ; The Leah gossip diary and letters, by Rev. A. B. Reid ; Sir Charles Morrison, by C. L. Stevenson.

The Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, June 1932, includes :—The antequa monumenta of Bedwyn, by G. M. Young ; The tombstone of the countess Ela, foundress of Lacock abbey, by Preb. W. G. Clark-Maxwell ; Scratch dials on Wiltshire churches, by R. G. V. Dymock ; The influence of geology on the past and present of Wiltshire, by Canon E. H. Goddard ; The disafforesting of Braden, by Canon F. H. Manley ; Saxon interments on Roche Court Down, Winterslow, by J. F. S. Stone ; The human remains from Roche Court Down, by M. L. Tildesley.

The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. 31, part 1, contains :—Mace-head found at Sheffield ; Mural paintings in Pickering church ; Rawdon chapel plate ; Pre-Norman cross-head at Lowthorpe ; A liturgical calendar from Guisborough priory, with some obits, by F. Wormald ; Bronze Age burial, Inglebank gravel pit, Boston Spa, by Mary Kitson Clark ; Preliminary excavation of an earthwork at Easington, West Yorks., by A. Raistrick ; Stephen of Eston, abbot of Salley, Newminster, and Fountains, by J. McNulty ; Old parish surnames at Aldborough, by Sir Thomas Lawson-Tancred ; Recent discoveries at Ripon cathedral, by W. T. Jones ; Roman Yorkshire, by Mary Kitson Clark ; Yorkshire notes, by W. J. Kaye.

Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society, vol. 4, no. 13, contains:—Patrick, sixth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, by J. Lindsay; Mr. David Lindsay, 1531–1613, Minister of Leith, 1560–1613, and Bishop of Ross, 1600–1613, by J. A. Wilson; Extracts from old Registers.

Archaeologia Cambrensis, vol. 87, part 1, contains:—The background of history in north-eastern Wales, by F. J. North; The Roman legionary fortress at Caerleon in Monmouthshire, by V. E. Nash-Williams; A new inscribed stone found at Barmouth, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; The Nantgarw pottery and its products: an examination of the site, by I. J. Williams; Craig Gwrtheyrn hill fort, Llanfihangel ar Arth, Carmarthenshire, by Willoughby Gardner; The Llancarfan charters, by Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans; Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Gwaenysgor, Flintshire, by H. H. Hughes; Surface flint industries around Solva, Pembrokeshire, by W. F. Grimes; A Syrian vase found in Monmouthshire; The erroneous position of Llandovery on sixteenth-century maps of the British Isles; Maen Hir in Glynllivon park; New light on a Cardiganshire cinerary urn; Emblems on coffin-lid, Llanfairynghornwy; The chancel arch, Llangristiolus church, Anglesey.

Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1930–1, includes:—The second Civil War in Wales, by J. F. Rees.

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 40, section C, nos. 7 and 8 contain:—The muniments of Edmund de Mortimer, third earl of March, concerning his Liberty of Trim, by H. Wood; The British tradition of St. Patrick's life, by J. L. Gough Meissner.

The Indian Antiquary, May 1932, includes:—Old sites on the Lower Indus, by G. E. L. Carter; The Scattergoods and the East India Company, by B. P. Scattergood.

June 1932 includes:—A find of ancient jewellery in Yasin, by Sir Aurel Stein; The Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta II.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, vol. 1, no. 4, contains:—Mosaic pavements at 'Ein el Fawwār; A portrait of Vitellius(?) in rock crystal; An inscribed epitaph from Gaza; Excavations in Palestine in 1931; Concise bibliography of excavations in Palestine.

American Journal of Archaeology, vol. 36, no. 2, includes:—Three unpublished inscriptions from the Roman Campagna, by G. McCracken; Eleusis in the Bronze Age, by G. E. Mylonas; The residential districts and the cemeteries at Olynthos, by D. M. Robinson; The burning of the Opisthodomos at Athens, by W. B. Dinsmoor.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 41, part 1, contains:—Philip English, commerce builder, by H. W. Belknap; James Sterling: poet, priest, and prophet of Empire, by L. C. Wroth; Dr. Thomas Walker and the Loyal Company of Virginia, by A. Henderson; Apocryphal voyages to the north-west coast of America, by H. R. Wagner; Christopher Saur the third, by J. O. Knauss.

Old-Time New England, vol. 22, no. 4, contains:—The loan exhibition at the Harrison Gray Otis house; A New Hampshire country parson: the Rev. Liba Conant of Hebron, by Ellen E. Webster; The Corliss pottery at Woolwich, Maine, by Margaret H. Jewell; Notes on Maine

potteries, by Margaret H. Jewell ; The restoration of a colonial altar-piece, by D. B. Uddike ; The Robert Gibbs house, Boston, by W. K. Watkins.

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, June 1932, includes:—Some silver by John Coney (1655–1722).

Académie Royale de Belgique: Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, tome 95, iv^e bulletin, contains:—Fragment of a necrology of the abbey of St. Jacques at Liège, by Dom U. Berlière.

Tome 96, i^{er} bulletin, contains:—The two Brabançon charters of 12 July 1314; by E. Lousse.

Bulletin des Musées Royaux, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles, 3rd ser. vol. 4, no. 3, includes:—New Persian bronzes, by L. Speleers ; Mummy portraits, by E. Bille-De Mot ; Pilgrims' signs, by L. Crick.

Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1931, includes:—Statuette of a weeper in the Louvre, by M. Prinnet ; A pottery object from Trinquetailles, by R. Lantier ; Funerary monuments from Soissons, by A. Blanchet ; The right of coinage in the Middle Ages, by A. Dieudonné ; Second-century monuments in the Orleans museum, by A. Blanchet ; The terms *altarium* and *capsum*, by M. Aubert ; An inscription to M. Servilius Nonianus, by J. Carcopino ; Ancient fortifications of Reims, by L. Demaison ; Portraits in the library of Arras, by Comte de Loine ; Bindings decorated with impressions of medals belonging to Grollier, by L. M. Michon ; The Carolingian cathedral at Chartres, by Abbé Plat ; Monument of the chanter Emeric Schillink, by M. Aubert ; Bernard de Soissons, master of the works of Reims cathedral, by L. Demaison ; The tympanum of the church of St. Genis des Fontaines, by J. Puig y Cadafalch ; Arras Louis d'or of 1652, by A. Dieudonné ; The cupolas of the tower of St. Martin, Angers, and the bell-tower at Marmoutier, by Abbé Plat ; A Byzantine cup with a representation of Christ, by F. de Mély ; Garnaut du Tremblay, enameller, by H. Stein ; A roundel of a pyxis from Volubilis, by E. Albertini ; An inscription from the abbey church of La Prée, by F. Deshouliers ; Excavations at St. Remy, Provence, by J. Formigé.

Bulletin Monumental, vol. 91, part 1, contains:—The image-workers of Amiens from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, by G. Durand ; The date of the building and decoration of the church and cloister of Silos, by G. Gaillard ; Crypts in the chevet of the choir in churches in the Low Countries, by R. Maere ; Paintings in the church of St. Junien, Haute Vienne, by C. and H. Boutant ; South façade of the transept of the church at Larchaut, by A. Bray.

Revue Archéologique, tome 35, janvier-avril 1932, includes:—Excavations at Puy de Lacan, by L. Kidder and H. H. Kidder ; A recovered Imperial portrait, by C. Blümel ; The discs of Taranto, by P. Wullemier ; A Gallo-Roman mosaic at Longepierre, by L. Armand-Calliat ; Images not made by hands, by L. Bréhier ; Le Petit Poucet and Ursa Major, by A. Haggerty-Krappe ; Juridical survivals, by S. Reinach ; Breaking egg-shells, by S. Reinach ; Dante and Dolcino, by S. Reinach ; An unintelligible verse in the *Pharsalia*, by S. Reinach ; More about the trial of Christ.

Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 14^e année, contains an article on the principal illuminated manuscripts preserved in Portugal, by R. dos Santos.

Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de la Corrèze, vol. 54, part 1, contains:—Capitaine Antoine Forse (1756–1852), by J. Faucher; The last lords of La Roquebron and St. Chamant, by Dr. de Ribier; Limousin documents in the archives at Bordeaux; Inventory of the Château de Cousages in 1753, by R. Laffon; In the time of the Diligence; Madame de Pompadour, by J. B. Lavialle.

Revue Africaine, vol. 72, parts 3 and 4, includes:—Inscriptions from El-Kantara, by E. Albertini; Epigraphic researches in the Nemencha country, by L. Leschi.

Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, vol. 12, includes:—The old Christian churches of Lesbos, by A. Orlandos; The propylea of the Acropolis, by A. D. Keramopoulos; An early Minoan tholos burial near the village of Krasi, Crete, by S. N. Marinatos; The Catholicon of the monastery of the Latomos in Thessalonica and the mosaic in it, by A. Zyngopoulos; The Purification of Delos and the discoveries of Stauropoulos, by K. A. Romaos; Early records of discoveries in ancient Athens, by A. G. Kampourouglou.

Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit 's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, new series, vol. 13, part 1, contains:—Head of the statue of a priest of the Magna from Smyrna, by G. A. S. Snijder; The archaeology of the Weiringermeer, by W. C. Braat, jr.

Notizie degli Scavi, vol. 7 (1931), fasc. 7–9. Account of the discovery at Rome in 1930 of additional fragments (covering about 70 lines of the inscription) of the Acta of the Ludi Saeculares, with text and commentary by P. Romanelli. The fragments belong to the celebration by Severus in 204, and describe the various sacrifices, processions, games, or spectacles, including the Carmen Saeculare, though the name of its author is lost. Naples, torso of an imperial statue (late second century), by P. Mingazini, who also records the discovery of a road and late graves near Sant' Angelo in Formis, of a Roman villa near the Castello di Baia, of another at Positano, etc. Pozzuoli, painted election appeals, like those at Pompeii, by I. Sgobbo. Sicily: Catania, various finds, Latin and Greek epitaphs, etc., by G. Libertini. General survey of the site and ancient remains of Enna, by P. Orsi. P. Marconi records various discoveries at Palermo, Segesta, and neighbourhood of Agrigento, prehistoric and later tombs, a Greek inscription, coins, etc. A group of Christian catacombs at Ciguana, by G. Caputo.

Rendiconti, Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, vol. 6 (1930). O. Marucchi describes a painted Egyptian stele (XXIInd dynasty) in the Vatican Museum, completed by a portion previously in the Turin Museum. In exchange Turin received the Greek epitaph of one Laurentius, a Roman official in Egypt. L. Du Jardin reviews Boni's discovery of the 'mundus' and 'Roma quadrata' on the Palatine, with the later history of these memorials. O. Marucchi describes the traces of the sundial (mentioned by Varro) at Palestrina, completely revealed on the

front of the cathedral by the removal of a modern structure in 1929. New mosaics (decorative subjects, marine and Nile scenes) from a villa at Leptis Magna (Tripolitania), by P. Romanelli. Comments on two papyri published in Bell and Crum's *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, by V. Capocci. H. Delehayé shows that the church at Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone) mentioned in the Hieronymian Martyrology (2nd Feb., etc.) was dedicated to three Roman saints, Sixtus, Laurence, and Hippolytus. Evidence of Pius V's interest in antiquities and ancient works of art, by A. Mercati. The temples of Juno Regina and Diana at the Circus Flaminius, by L. Du Jardin. Acquisitions and restorations in the Vatican galleries and museums 1927-30, by B. Nogara, O. Marucchi, and B. Biagetti.

Vol. 7 (1931-2). G. de Sanctis supports Cumont's suggestion that the Greek imperial rescript from Nazareth forbidding violations of tombs and removal of bodies may allude to the Jewish story that the body of Jesus had been removed by the disciples (Matt. xxviii, 15), but thinks that it may be due to Claudius. The origin of the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary, really the Missal of Pippin, by C. Mohlberg. The fortresses of the Stefaneschi (from whom came Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII) and the Frangipani on the Palatine, including the 'Turris de arcu' (arch of Vespasian and Titus in the Circus Maximus) and the 'Balneum imperatoris' (part of the palace of Severus), by O. Marchetti-Longhi. Fortifications of Rome when Paul IV was at war with Spain (1556), by P. Paschini. The political disunion of the Etruscans and its results for history and archaeology, by L. Pareti. M. Guarducci discusses the 'axones' (wood) and 'kyrbeis' (stone) on which early Athenian laws were inscribed, with examples of the latter from Chios and Crete. L. Respighi traces a Corinthian capital, now in the Vatican Museum, to the 'Laconicon' of the Thermae of Agrippa, behind the Pantheon. A new Berlin papyrus fragment relating to the trial before Claudius of the Alexandrian anti-semites Isidorus and Lampo, by A. Momigliano. L. Du Jardin classifies the wells discovered by Boni in the Forum, and maintains that their form and contents show that all but two were ritual wells. An appendix has an account of the forms (animals, sacred objects, gods, etc.) taken by Roman weights, and another explains the ships of the lake of Nemi as connected with Caligula's cult of the infernal deities. W. von Bissing compares early terracotta figurines from Castel Gandolfo with Sardinian bronzes which may be dated at the end of the second millennium B.C. L. H. Vincent examines the Jewish ossuary inscribed 'Jesus son of Joseph', found by Prof. Sukenik in the stores of the Jerusalem Museum, and exploited by journalists as the epitaph of Christ; and concludes that the lettering of the names (which are common enough in such epitaphs), even if authentic, may belong to any time between 150 B.C. and 150 A.D.

Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, vol. 8 (1931), nos. 3 and 4. The epitaphs from the catacomb 'dei Giordani', Rome, belonging to the third century, and important for dating the paintings (see *Rivista* 1928), by E. Josi. Christian (Byzantine) antiquities in the mountain district of Palazzolo Acreide above Syracuse, by P. Orsi. The motive of dolphin and

trident in Pagan, Jewish, and Christian art, the second, in spite of attempts to prove the contrary, being merely decorative, and the Christian symbolism original and primitive, by J. B. Frey. The tradition that the group of churches at Bologna known as S. Stefano was erected by St. Petronius in the fifth century in imitation of the churches connected with the Passion at Jerusalem, in order that the liturgy of Holy Week, which originated there, could be carried out at Bologna, receives support from references to such services going back to the seventh century, by G. Belvederi. New Christian epitaphs etc., from Carthage, by the late A. L. Delattre.

Vol. 9 (1932), nos. 1 and 2. Restoration of a section of the catacomb of Praetextatus, and some new epitaphs, by F. Fornari. G. P. Kirsch continues his description of fourth-century paintings (mostly Biblical scenes) in the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. The description of the church at Kildare in the seventh-century life of St. Brigid by Cogitosus shows that it was probably of wood, and had an iconostasis or chancel screen, as well as a division between the sexes in the nave, by M. Mesnard. Inventory and description of the architectural fragments and stone carvings (fifth and sixth centuries) from the Egyptian monastery of Baouit, now exhibited in the Louvre, by A. des Graviers. Catacombs on the Via Aurelia, by A. Silvagni. M. Guetschow describes a marble relief (second half third century A.D.), used to close the loculus of Aelia Athanasia in the catacomb of Praetextatus, representing the flagellation of a woman with numerous attendant figures; and discusses the theories of its being a scene of Christian persecution, or of Gnostic or Mystery initiation, or of penance. A fragment of a metrical epitaph by Damasus found above the cemetery of Bassilla on the Via Salaria Vetus probably belonged to the hitherto unidentified memorial of St. Hermes, by E. Josi. G. P. Kirsch describes the discovery under the crypt of the Romanesque church of St. Cassius at Bonn of a differently orientated church, which seems to have been erected about 400 A.D. in a cemetery area which was originally pagan. Obituary notice of A. Delattre, by the same.

Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, vol. 49 (1931), fasc. 1-4. The gates of the Aurelian wall of Rome retain their original form and were not rebuilt by Honorius, by B. G. Giovenale. Architectural and decorative fragments from the Forum of Trajan found on the site of the Macel de' Corvi, by C. Ricci. Relief of Mithras with some unusual details, by A. M. Colini. The Rothschild cameo of Honorius and Maria, and its relation to other neo-classical works of art of the period, by G. Battaglia. The origin of the tribunes of the plebs, by A. Momigliano. Replicas of the Melpomene of Miletus at Oxford, Naples, etc., by A. Adriani. The church and hostel of St. Andrew of the Germans (fourteenth century) at Rome, by P. Spezi. Notes of recent discoveries in Rome and its environs. Obituary notices of L. Cantarelli by A. M. Colini, O. Marucchi by R. Paribeni, and T. Ashby by G. Lugli. As appendix appears the *Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero Romano*, vol. 2 (1931), containing the following papers:—The historical unity of the Via Aemilia, by A. Solari; Recent work on the Roman Wall, by

I. A. Richmond; Head of Tiberius at Malta, by L. M. Ugolini; The valley of the Naro in Roman times, by N. Akajomov; Bust of the Emperor Julian at Acerenza, by R. Andreotti; The sculptures of the Trophy of Trajan from Adamklissi (now at Bucharest), by S. Ferri; Notes of recent discoveries in all the provinces of the Roman Empire.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 10, contains:—Further Pompeian studies, by A. W. Van Buren; The so-called first triumvirate, by H. A. Sanders; Some inscriptions in Rome, by H. A. Sanders; A new interpretation of 'Jupiter Elicius', by M. A. Rubins; Greek vases in the museum of the American Academy in Rome, by A. M. Harmon and E. V. Hansen; Roman bath at Leptis Magna, by G. Frazer and A. W. Van Buren; A restoration of Horace's Sabine villa, by T. D. Price; The 'Terme Nuove' at Ostia, by B. K. Johnson; The Augustan pomerium, by J. H. Oliver.

Clara Rhodos, vol. 2 (published 1932) contains:—Sculpture in the Archaeological Museum at Rhodes, by A. Maiuri; The temple and theatre of Apollo Ereimio, by G. Jacobi; The cemetery of Pontamo, by G. Jacobi; New inscriptions from the southern Sporades, by G. Jacobi.

Vol. 5, part 2, contains:—Sculpture in the archaeological museum at Rhodes, ii, by G. Jacopi and L. Laurenzi.

Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, vol. 7, contains:—Archaeological studies on Eastern Russia during the early Iron Age, by A. M. Tallgren; Fragments of bows from Carnuntum and the Lower Volga, by J. Werner; Zaretsky's excavations in the government of Kharkov, by A. A. Zakharov; The depot find at Kvemo-Sasirethi, by G. Nioradze; The prehistory of Abchasiën, M. M. Ivaščenko; Types of prehistoric pins from the Caucasus, by F. Hančar; The 'kaatteris' among the Finnish peoples during the later Iron Age, by T. Vahter.

Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, tome 31, contains:—Excavations by the *Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini* at Oxyrhynchus, by E. Brecchia; Work at Karnak, by H. Chevrier; Note on the skeleton hitherto believed to be that of King Akhenaten, by D. E. Derry; Preliminary report of the work of the archaeological survey of Nubia, 1930–1, by W. B. Emery; The so-called coffin of Akhenaten, by R. Engelbach; Recent acquisitions in the Cairo Museum, by R. Engelbach; Notes of inspection, by R. Engelbach; Ancient Egyptian woods, by R. Engelbach; Excavations at Saqqara, 1930–1, by C. M. Firth; Two sphinxes of the Middle Empire at Edfou, by H. Gauthier; Did a king Amasis-Psammeticus exist? by H. Gauthier; Traces of the end of the Middle Empire at Karnak, by H. Gauthier; A statue of Rameses I, by H. Gauthier; Excavations in the necropolis at Memphis, by G. Jéquier; Insectiform beads in Egyptian necklaces, by L. Keimer; Studies in Third Dynasty monuments, by J. P. Lauer; Repairs carried out in the Zoser monuments at Saqqara, by J. P. Lauer; The canopic vases from the tomb of Queen Tiye, by A. Lucas; The work of the Mission for the study of the Christian monuments of Nubia, by L. Monneret de Villard; The clearance of the Royal tomb at el Amarna, by J. D. S. Pendlebury; The ex-voto to Nemesis, by P. Perdugel.

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Architecture.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday, 5th May 1932. Sir Charles Peers, President, in the Chair.

The President announced that he had appointed Mr. Eric Maclagan, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, to be a Vice-President of the Society.

Mr. Eric Maclagan, Vice-President, exhibited, on behalf of Lady Carlisle, some medieval alabasters from Naworth castle (p. 407).

Miss Dorothy Liddell, F.S.A., read a further report on the excavations at Hembury Fort, Devon.

Thursday, 12th May 1932. Sir Charles Peers, President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. S. Braun was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. C. Leonard Woolley read a paper on the excavations at Ur, 1931-2 (p. 355).

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 20th October 1932.

INDEX TO VOL. XII

- A-an-ni-pad-da, remains, of at Ur, 360.
 Abbeys formerly in England, MS. list of, 349.
 Aberdeenshire, bronze armlets from, 209; the two-stepped castles of, 163.
 Abergairn Castle (Aberdeen), excavations at, 163-6.
 Abergeldie Castle, 163.
Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, reviewed, 103.
Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, reviewed, 103.
Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire, reviewed, 103, 328, 481.
 Acland, Capt. John Edward, obituary of, 350, 351.
Acta Archaeologica, reviewed, 104, 334.
 Adad-aplu-iddinam, remains of building by, at Ur, 387.
Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, ed. Sir R. F. Scott, reviewed, 88.
 Aeneolithic age of Stonehenge, the, 22-3.
 Aelfast, bishop of Elmham and Thetford, 122, 123.
 Afferden church (Holland), English alabaster in, 302-5.
 Agate beads, 366, 367, 368, 381, 391.
 Alabasters, English, in Holland, 302-5; medieval, from Naworth Castle, 407-10.
Alamannen in Württemberg, Die, by Walther Veeck, reviewed, 309-11.
 Alawi, 355.
 Alchester, excavations at, 35-67; summary of evidence obtained in 1928, 35-9; description of the excavations, 40-8; the small objects found, 48-67.
 Alfred's Castle (Berks.), 32.
 All Cannings Cross (Wilts.), 28, 31, 33, 412, 420, 421, 425, 427, 429.
 Allcroft, A. Hadrian, *Waters of Arun*, reviewed, 82-4.
 Allen, Frank J., *The Great Church Towers of England*, reviewed, 463-6.
American Journal of Archaeology, reviewed, 102, 198, 328, 480.
 Amersham (Bucks.), wall-paintings at, 306.
 Amethyst beads, 391.
 Amphitheatre, the newly-discovered, at Chester, 214-15, 307.
Analecta Bollandiana, reviewed, 199.
 Ancaster, Roman remains from, 267.
Ancient Bridges of the North of England, The, by E. Jervoise, reviewed, 87.
Ancient Egypt, reviewed, 96, 191, 323, 474.
 Ancient Monuments Act, the, 213.
 Ancient Monuments Department, 116.
 Andrae, Dr. W., 369-70.
 Andrew, W. J., 209.
 Anglo-Saxon: armlets, 441; beads, 441; bowls, 174-5, 452-3; brooches, 173, 174, 441, 442, 445; burials, 441, 445; horse-bit, 441; knives, 445; martingale, 445; plaque, 440-2; ring, 445; shield-boss, 445; spear-heads, 445; sword, 441.
 Animal remains, 4, 47, 67, 254, 280, 284, 285, 292, 365, 367, 368.
Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur, reviewed, 328.
Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, reviewed, 485.
Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool, reviewed, 99-100, 326.
Annual of the British School at Athens, The, reviewed, 322.
Annual Report of the Dunstable Library and Museum, reviewed, 195.
 Annunciation group, panel painting of an, 209.
Anthropologie, L', reviewed, 104-5, 329-30.
Antiquity, reviewed, 95, 191, 322, 473.
 Antlers, deer's, 280.
 Antoninus, coins of, 72.
Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertums-kunde, reviewed, 202-3.
 Aquamaniles, medieval, 116, 446-8.
 Arbor Low stone circle, 156.
Archaeologia, reviewed, 473.
Archaeologia Aeliana, reviewed, 476.
Archaeologia Cambrensis, reviewed, 197, 480.
Archaeologia Cantiana, reviewed, 194-5, 325.
 'Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, reviewed, 482.
 Archaeology, early English contributions to, 218-26.
Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly, The, by H. O'Neill Hencken, reviewed, 460-1.
Aréthuse, reviewed, 199.
 Armlets, bronze, 69, 209, 441.
 Armour, Spanish, 342.

- Arms of French towns, illustrations of the, 349.
- Arrow-heads, flint, 148, 149.
- 'Arthur's Round Table', Penrith, 156.
- Ash charcoal, 12.
- Ashby, Thomas, obituary of, 350, 351.
- Aston (Berks.), Saxon objects from, 341.
- Atkinson, Prof., 342.
- Atkinson, T. D., 126.
- Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina*, reviewed, 202.
- Aubrey, John, his contributions to Archaeology, 221-2.
- Axes: bronze, 368; copper, 366, 367; flint, 450; stone, 232, 298-9.
- Aylesbury Museum, wall-painting in, 305.
- Aylmer, Lieut.-General Sir F. J., *The Aylmers of Ireland*, reviewed, 188-9.
- B., C. E., reviews by, 187-8, 320-1.
- B., F. W., review by, 466-7.
- Babylonian, Neo-, remains at Ur, 356, 370, 374-5, 384, 386, 390.
- Badge, bronze, 450.
- Baginton (Warwick), beaker from, 171-2.
- Bagot, Miss M. J. E., 35 n. 1.
- Bagshaw, T. W., 'Two Inscribed Stones in St. Peter's Church, Dunstable', 175-7.
- Bailey, Charles, 264, 267.
- Balfuig Castle, 163.
- Ball, Capt. John, 168.
- Balyglass megaliths (Mayo), the, 156.
- Banbury, grant of a fair at, 273.
- Bar, iron, 67.
- Barnard, E. A. B., *The Prattinton Collections of Worcestershire History*, reviewed, 93-4.
- Barnard, Francis Pierrepont, obituary of, 350, 351.
- Barrows, long, the origin of, 127; of Stonehenge, 17-23.
- Basler Zeitschrift*, reviewed, 335.
- Bate, Dorothea M. A., 292.
- Batten, M. I., *English Windmills*, reviewed, 87-8.
- Battlesbury (Wilts.), 32, 33.
- Bead-rim pottery representing an alleged Second Belgic invasion, 27-34, 411-30.
- Beads: agate, 366, 367, 368, 381, 391; amethyst, 391; calcite, 399; carnelian, 366, 367, 368, 381, 391; chalcedony, 391; crystal, 381; diamond, 367; frit, 381; glass, 62, 441; gold, 366, 367, 368, 369; lapis lazuli, 367, 381; marble, 366; miscellaneous, 390; quartzite, 381; shell, 367, 381; steatite, 367.
- Beakers, pottery, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 169-70, 171-2, 288, 289.
- Bean, T. R., 68.
- Beard, Charles, 142, 143.
- Beatty, A. Chester, his gift to the Library, 116.
- Beddington, Winifred, 71.
- Bedford, an enamel at, 173-4.
- Beeching, Dr. H. C., 125.
- Beeston Tor (Derbyshire), brooch from, 173, 174.
- Belfast Municipal Museum, food-vessel in the, 301.
- Belgic incineration, 296-8, 455; invasion, was there a second?, 27-34, 411-30.
- Bell, Canon Allen, 125.
- Bell, Sir Hugh, Bt., obituary of, 350.
- Bell, Reginald, 394.
- Bell-stamps, casts and rubbings of, 350.
- Beloe, Edward Milligen, obituary of, 350, 351-2.
- Belvoir Priory (Notts.), enamel from, 450, 452.
- Benches at Ur, 364, 365.
- Benham, W. Gurney, *Playing Cards*, reviewed, 92-3.
- Berden, Pastor, 304.
- Bergen Museum, Anglo-Saxon plaque in, 440.
- Berkshire, West-Saxon graves in, 445.
- Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, *The*, reviewed, 98, 476.
- Billson, Alfred, 136.
- Birse Castle, 163, 166.
- Bishop's Burton, flint-knife from, 158.
- Bitumen model boats, 366, 368.
- Black Prince's helm, the, 137.
- Blades: flint, 235, 257-8; obsidian, 230 n., 235.
- Blast furnace, Roman, 262-8.
- Bleackley, Horace, obituary of, 350.
- Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole*, *The*, ed. F. G. Stokes, reviewed, 466-7.
- Blocks, pottery, 248-9.
- Blue stones, the Stonehenge, 17-22.
- Boar, tusk of, 67.
- Boats, miniature, 373; model, 366, 368.
- Bodiam Castle, drawing of, 341.
- Bodkin, bone, 292.
- Bøe, Johs., 'An Anglo-Saxon bronze mount from Norway', 440-2.
- Boletim da Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa*, reviewed, 111.
- Bolleti de la Societat Arqueologica Luliana*, reviewed, 111, 202, 334.
- Bolton, A. T., elected to the Council, 353.
- Bone objects: bodkin, 292; comb, 64;

- handle, 64; needles, 64, 292; ornaments, 66; spoon, 66.
- Borenus, Dr. Tancred, 'A Destroyed Cycle of Wall-Paintings in a Church in Wiltshire', 209, 393-406; *St. Thomas Becket in Art*, reviewed, 461-3.
- Bos remains, 67.
- Bosanquet, R. C., elected to the Council, 353.
- Bosses in Norwich Cathedral, the, 342.
- Bosworth House, Wendover, wall-paintings in, 305.
- Bourton-on-the-Water (Glos.), Bronze Age and Saxon remains from near, 279-93.
- Bowls: copper, 366, 367, 378, 369; glass, 62; pottery, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 75, 149, 151, 152, 154, 155, 232, 233, 234, 235, 243-4, 252, 288, 443; silver, 368; steatite, 391-2.
- Bowls, hanging-, bronze, 174-5, 452-3.
- Bracelets, copper, 366, 369; gold, 168-9, 366, 368, 369; silver, 366, 367, 368, 369.
- Bradford Antiquary, *The*, reviewed, 476.
- Brampton church, grant of, 273.
- Brasses, monumental, 341.
- Bratton (Wilts.), 33.
- Braun, Hugh Stanley, 342, 490.
- Brazier, pottery, 290.
- Bree, Rev. H. R. S., 24.
- Brentwood Grammar School, the seal of, 349.
- Bricks and brickwork at Ur, 356, 358, 360, 364, 371-3, 375, 379-80, 381-3, 386.
- Brighton and Hove Archaeological Club, excavation by the, 1-16.
- Brighton Museum, 7.
- Briquetage sites in Lincolnshire, 239-56.
- British, Early, bronze armlets, 209.
- British Museum, in or of the: Anglo-Saxon bronzes, 445; aquamaniles, 448; armlets, bronze, 69, 173; beakers, 169, 170; bowl, neolithic, 154; celts, 167, 298; Chalkwell, the grave find at, 169; disc, bronze, 174; excavations at Ur, 355-92; flints, casts of, 68; gaming-boards, 391; Grovehurst dwelling site, objects from the, 162; Hollingbury Camp, objects from, 2; Iron Age bronzes, 453.
- British Museum Quarterly, *The*, reviewed, 95, 191, 322, 473.
- British School of Archaeology in Iraq, the Society represented on the Council of the, 349.
- Brögger, Dr. A. W., 436.
- Bronze objects: adze, 74; aquamanile, 446-8; armlets, 69, 209, 441; axes, 284, 368; badge, 450; bowl, 174-5; bowl, hanging-, 452-3; brooches, 66, 441, 445, 453-5; buckles, 301-2, 452; celts, 74; chain, 64; discs, 173-4; fibulas, 40, 64, 65, 67; handles, 64, 65; harness mountings, 65, 74; knives, 67, 445; loops, 2; martingale, 445; mirror, 67; mount, 440-2; needles, 64; palstave, 2; patera, 76; pins, 64, 66; plaque, 440-2; rings, 2, 445; sheathing, 66; shield-boss, 445; situla, 455; spear-heads, 74, 445; spoons, 65, 288, 292; torc, 2; tweezers, 66.
- Bronze Age objects: adze, 74; axes, 284; barrows of Stonehenge, 17-23; beakers, 169-70, 171-2; blades, obsidian, 235; bowls, 235; burials, 127, 128, 135, 170-1, 279; celts, 70-1, 74; charcoal, 280; cist, 299-301; ditches, 279; food-vessels, 171, 299-301; hoard, 74; lugs, 235; pits, 280-4; pots, 280, 282; pottery, miscellaneous, 280, 284; spear-head, 74; urns, 279. *See also* Iron-Bronze Age.
- Brooches, 72, 75; bronze, 441, 445, 453-5; the alleged introduction of La Tène III, into Wessex, 27, 31, 417-18; Saxon, 341; silver, 173, 174.
- Brooke, George C., 76; *English Coins*, reviewed, 320-1.
- Brooke helm, the, 137.
- Brown, Charles E., his collection of flints, 68.
- Brown, J., 119.
- Brown, Walter Talbot, obituary of, 350.
- Bryn Celli Ddu, the pillar stone of, 127.
- Bucket, copper, 369.
- Buckinghamshire churches, wall-paintings in, 305-6.
- Buckler, W. H., 341.
- Buckles, bronze, 301-2, 452.
- Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Constantine, reviewed, 107, 332.
- Bulletin de la Société archéologique de la Corrèze, reviewed, 107, 332, 482.
- Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure, reviewed, 200.
- Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, reviewed, 108, 332.
- Bulletin de la Société française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, reviewed, 200, 482.
- Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, reviewed, 481.
- Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française, reviewed, 106-7, 199-200, 331-2.
- Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare, reviewed, 329.
- Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et

- d'Archéologie de Belgique*, reviewed, 103.
Bulletin des Musées Royaux, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles, 103-4, 199, 328, 481.
Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, reviewed, 107, 332.
Bulletin monumental, reviewed, 104, 199, 481.
Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, reviewed, 198.
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, reviewed, 192, 323-4, 474-5.
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, reviewed, 196, 478.
Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reviewed, 102-3, 198, 328, 481.
Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum, reviewed, 328.
Bulletin of the Valletta Museum, reviewed, 198.
Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero Romano, reviewed, 109-10.
Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, reviewed, 109, 484-5.
 Bulls, copper heads of, 360.
 Bur-Sin, remains of, at Ur, 359.
 Burial structures of Menorca, the, 127-35.
 Burials: Anglo-Saxon, 441, 445; the association of the plano-convex flint-knife with, 158-62; Bronze Age, 127, 128, 135, 170-1, 279; as evidence of the second Belgic Invasion, 31, 420-3; Saxon, 442-4; at Ur, 357-69, 390, 391.
 Burkitt, M. C., 'Investigation of the Fens', 453.
Burlington Magazine, The, reviewed, 95-6, 322-3, 473.
 Buset, Rasmus, 440.
 Bushe-Foxe, J. P., 76, 342, 410, 412.
 Buxton, Archdeacon H. J., 341.
 Buxton, L. H. Dudley, on the animal remains from Alchester, 67.
 Byzantine wall-paintings in Cyprus, 341.
 C., A. W., review by, 312-3.
 Caburn, the, 13, 16.
 Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon, Iron Age pot from, 437.
 Caistor St. Edmunds, Roman remains at, 124, 265.
 Calcite: bead, 369; figures, 380-1; pot, 380; vase, 380.
 Callender, Prof. G. A. R., elected to the Council, 353.
 Camborne (Cornwall), Roman villa at, 71-2.
Cambridge Historical Journal, The, reviewed, 194.
 Camden, William, his contribution to archaeology, 219, 220, 221, 223.
 Camulodunum, 36. *See also* Colchester.
 Capel Garmon (Denbigh), the long barrows of, 156.
 Carisbrooke Castle museum, Belgic pottery in the, 298.
 Carlisle, Lady, 407, 409, 490.
 Carnelian beads, 366, 367, 368, 381, 391.
 Cartailhac, Émile, on the Menorca navetas, 127, 128 n., 130, 131.
 Carving, wooden, of the Flight into Egypt, 209.
 Casterley (Wilts.), 28, 31, 32, 33, 412.
 Castle Acre priory, panel painting from, 209.
 Castles, drawings of, 341; round, of Cornwall, 341.
 Cathcart, A. B., 7.
 Caton-Thompson, G., *The Zimbabwe Culture*, reviewed, 80-2.
 Cauldrons, copper, 366, 368.
 Cave, C. J. P., 209, 342.
 Cedd, St., 124.
 Celt, the socketed, origin of, 167-8.
 Celts, copper, 70-1; flint, 8, 450; jadeite, 167; stone, 298-9, 450.
 Cemetery at Aston (Berks.), Saxon objects from a, 341; at Ur, 357-69; at Ewell, Saxon, 442-5.
 Chain, bronze, 64.
 Chalcedony beads, 391.
 Chalkwell (Kent), grave find at, 169.
Champlevé enamel, 173.
 Chapels, eastern in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, 117-26.
 Charcoal from: Bourton-on-the-Water, 280, 292-3; Hollingbury Camp, 4, 8, 12; Isle of Wight, 297; Mull Hill Circle, the, 146; Woolsthorpe, blast furnace at, 264.
 Charlton, John, 439.
 Charters of Henry II, 269-78.
 Chatwin, P. B., 171.
 Chester, the newly-discovered amphitheatre at, 214-15, 307.
Chetham Miscellanies, reviewed, 195.
 Chew, Helena M., *The English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-chief and Knight Service*, reviewed, 456.
 Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, flints in the, 68.
 Chichester, Bronze Age burial at, 170-1; bronze disc from, 134.

- Childe, V. Gordon, 167, 216; *The Danube in Prehistory*, reviewed, 78-80; reviews by, 185-6, 460-1, 470-2.
- Children's remains, 367.
- Chisel, iron, 266.
- Christ's Hospital, Abingdon*, by Arthur E. Preston, reviewed, 88-9.
- Chronology, the, of: Alchester, the tower at, 36; arrow-heads, 149; the Bourton-on-the-Water Saxon hut, 287; the hill-forts of the South Downs, 15-16; knife, the plano-convex flint, in England and Wales, 158-62; Lincolnshire coast Red Mounds, 252-3; the Mull Hill Circle, 146-57; the plano-convex flint-knife in England and Wales, 158-62; Sérvia, the prehistoric site at, 228-38; Stonehenge, 17-23; Ur, 356-92.
- Cissbury Camp, 11, 13, 15, 16.
- Cist, Bronze Age, 299-301.
- Clapham, A. W., elected Secretary, 353; his gift to the Society, 349.
- , L. E. Tanner and, on recent discoveries in Westminster Abbey, 209.
- Clara Rhodos*, reviewed, 485.
- Clarendon Palace, the lost wall-paintings of, 393, 396, 397.
- Clark, J. Grahame D., 173, 453; 'The Date of the Plano-Convex Flint-knife in England and Wales', 158-62.
- Clark-Maxwell, Prebendary, 342.
- Claudius, coins of, 76.
- Clay, Charles, reviews by, 189-90, 314-15.
- Clay objects: bars, 264; cones, 376, 377, 383; hearths, 241-3; jar, 380; pots, 366, 368, 369; rings, 284, 285, 290; tablets, 357, 358, 364; vases, 366, 367; vessels, 366, 368.
- Cleat, iron, 292.
- Clepsydra, Roman, 302.
- Cobham helmets, the, 137.
- Coffins from Ur, 363, 366-7, 368-9, 390.
- Coinage, local, as evidence of an alleged Second Belgic invasion, 27, 30-1, 418-19.
- Coinage of England, The*, by Sir Charles Oman, reviewed, 187-8.
- Coins, Roman, 43, 44, 62-3, 72, 75-6, 266.
- Colchester, excavations at, 74-6, 209, 211, 212, 343.
- Colchester and Essex Museum, 76.
- Cold Kitchen Hill (Wilts.), 26.
- Cole, Rev. William, *The Blecheley Diary*, reviewed, 466-7.
- Coles, Rev. W. K., 284.
- Collingwood, R. G., 438.
- Colsterworth (Lincs.), Roman blast furnace from, 262-8.
- Columns at Ur, 376-7.
- Comb, bone, 64.
- Commius, 31, 32, 34.
- Cones, clay, 376, 377, 383.
- Congrès international des Sciences pré-historiques et protohistoriques, the, 74, 216-18, 349, 431-6.
- Connoisseur, The*, reviewed, 96, 191, 323, 473-4.
- Constantine, coins of, 43, 62, 63.
- Conway Castle, drawing of, 341.
- Copper objects: axes, 366, 367; bowls, 366, 367, 368, 369; bracelets, 366, 369; bucket, 369; cauldrons, 366, 368; celts, 70-1; cylinders, 375; dagger, 366; discs, 369, 380; heads, 360; knife, 367; marmite, 368; miniature objects, 373; pins, 367; razor, 380; saucer, 369; spears, 369; strainer, 368; tridents, 366, 368; tumbler, 368; vases, 366, 367, 368.
- Corbett, A., 284.
- Cornwall, Roman villa in, 71-2; the round castles of, 341.
- Cosson, Baron C. A. de, 136, 139 n.
- Cotton, Charles, *A Kentish Cartulary of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, reviewed, 183-5.
- Coulter, Mrs. E. K., 284, 293.
- Cozens-Hardy, B., 209.
- Cranage, Very Rev. D. H. S., 'Eastern Chapels in the Cathedral Church of Norwich', 116, 117-26; elected to the Council, 353.
- Crawford, O. G. S., 341, 445.
- Cremation as evidence of an alleged Second Belgic invasion, 27, 31, 420-3; the association of plano-convex flint-knives with, 159-61.
- Cripps-Day, F. H., 136.
- Crispus, coins of, 76.
- Crooks, Capt. F., 342.
- Cross, the Reculver, 341.
- Cross and fleur-de-lis motive, the, 173-4.
- Cross-bow and winder, 116.
- Crowbar, iron, 67.
- Croydon helmet, the, 144.
- Crucifix on the lily, the, 24-6.
- Crystal heads, 381.
- Cunnington, Mrs. B. H., 'Was there a Second Belgic Invasion (represented by bead-rim pottery)?', 27-34; reply to, 411-30.
- Cunnington, William, on the Stonehenge barrows, 17-22.
- Cunobelin, coins of, 76.
- Cups, glass, 62; pottery, 53, 56, 60, 150, 232, 234, 289; silver, 209, 341.

- Curia Regis* Rolls of the reign of Richard I and John, reviewed, 314-15.
 Curling-iron (?), iron, 266.
 Currelly, Charles Trick, 210.
 Curtis, Major Carey, 68.
 Curwen, E. Cecil, 'Excavations at Hellingbury Camp, Sussex', 1-16, 116; review by, 82-4.
 Curwen, Dr. Eliot, elected to the Council, 353.
 Cylinders, copper, 375.
 Dabbs, A. C., 116.
 Daggers, copper, 366; flint, 450.
 Dainichi Nyorai, Japanese divinity, 25-6.
 Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, obituary of, 350, 352.
Danube in Prehistory, The, by V. Gordon Childe, reviewed, 78-80.
 Darell helm, the, 137.
Deae matres, sculpture of the, 267.
 Deer remains, 67, 280.
 Delisle, L., on charters of Henry II, 270-8.
 Denman, Sir Arthur, obituary of, 350.
 Derryagh (Antrim), celt from, 298-9.
Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, A, by M. R. James and C. Jenkins, reviewed, 318.
 Diamond beads, 367.
 Dillon, Lord, 136.
 Discs, bronze, 173-4; copper, 369, 380.
 Dishes, pottery, 56, 59, 60, 232, 233, 234, 244-6.
 Dish-stools, 246-8, 250.
 Domesday Book, quoted, 122.
 Domitian, coin of, 63.
 Donovan, Col. C., 284.
 Donovan, Miss H. E., 210, 284, 283.
 Downs, North, palaeolith from the, 294-6.
 —, South, the hill-forts of the, 15-16.
 Draughtsmen, medieval, 177-8.
 Drewitt, F. Dawtrey, *The Romance of the Apothecaries Garden at Chelsea*, reviewed, 89-90.
 Drummond Castle (Perth), armlets from, 173.
 Duck remains, 292.
 Duhem, Gustave, *Les Églises de France: Morbihan*, reviewed, 467.
 Dundrum, bowls from, 154.
 Dungi, remains of, at Ur, 356, 358, 359, 367, 386.
 Dunlop, John Renton, obituary of, 350.
 Dunning, G. C., 'Bronze Age Settlements and a Saxon Hut near Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire', 279-93; 'Iron-Age pot from Caesar's Camp, Wimbledon Common', 436; excavations in London, by, 343; 'Medieval Finds in London', 177-8; 'Roman finds in London', 437-9; 'A Saxon Cemetery at Ewell, Surrey', 442-5; 'The Town-wall of Glevum', 439-40.
 —, C. Hawkes and, 'The Second Belgic Invasion', 411-30.
 Dunstable, St. Peter's church, inscribed stones in, 175-7.
 Duraunt family, the, 176.
 Durham, the Bishop of, 342.
 Duveen, Sir Joseph, Bt., his gift to the Library, 116.
 Dyke, Sir Oliver Hart, Bt., 136.
 Dyke, the, 16.
 Eannatum, remains of, at Ur, 363.
 Earthworks, Linear, 342.
 Eastern chapels in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, 116.
 Easterton (Moray), bowl from, 154, 155.
 Edinburgh, National Museum of Antiquities, celts in the, 167.
 Edwards, J. H., 171, 172.
Églises de France: Morbihan, Les, by Gustave Duhem, reviewed, 467.
 Elliot, Margaret M., Dorothy Hartley and, *Life and Work of the People of England*, reviewed, 91-2.
 Elmham, South (Suffolk) and North (Norfolk), the churches of, 124.
 Enamel from Belvoir Priory, 450, 552.
 Enamelled bronzes, 173-4, 175.
 Engleheart, George, 'The Age of Stonehenge: a Criterion', 17-23.
English Coins, by George C. Brooke, reviewed, 320-1.
English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-chief and Knight Service, The, by Helena M. Chew, reviewed, 456.
English Historical Review, The, reviewed, 96, 192, 323, 474.
English Medieval Feast, The, by W. E. Mead, reviewed, 90-1.
English Windmills, by M. I. Batten, reviewed, 87-8.
 Entemena, remains of, at Ur, 360, 361.
 Equestrian aquamanile, 446-8.
 Es Tudons, the naveta of, 127-31, 133, 134.
 Essex, bronze objects from, 74.
Essex Review, The, reviewed, 99, 195, 325, 477-8.
 Ethelbert, St., alabaster of, 409.
Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, reviewed, 485.
 Evans, Sir Arthur, on the age of Stonehenge, 22; on the Temple-tomb of the House of Minos, 209.

- Evans, Joan, *Monastic Life at Cluny*, 910-11, 97, reviewed, 181-3.
- Ewell (Surrey), Saxon cemetery at, 442-5.
- Excavations:
- CYPRUS: Salamina Altera, 302.
- ENGLAND: Alchester, 35-67; Belvoir Priory, 450, 452; Bourton-on-the-Water, 279-93; Colchester, 74-6, 209, 211, 212, 343; Glastonbury Abbey, 212-13; Helmsley Castle, 179; Hem-bury Fort, 490; Hollingbury Camp, 1-16; Kidwelly Castle, 342; Kirkham Priory, 178-9; London, 342; Middleham Castle, 179; Muchelney Abbey, 179; Norwich Cathedral, 118-26; Pevensey Castle, 73; Richborough, 211-12, 342; Rievaulx Abbey, 179; Verulamium, 212, 342, 343; Warkworth Castle, 301-2; Warrington Priory, 448-9; Woolsthorpe, 262-8.
- GREECE: Macedonia, 116, 227-38; SERBIA, 227-38; Thermi, 341.
- SCOTLAND: Abergairn Castle, 163-6.
- YUGO-SLAVIA: Vinča, 116.
- Excavations at Olynthus, by G. E. Mylonas and D. M. Robinson, reviewed, 458-60.
- Eynsham Abbey, charter to, 271-2, 275-6.
- F., H. J., review by, 186-7.
- Fairford, brooch from, 174.
- Fairweather, Dr. F. H., 126.
- Falke, Dr. Otto von, 447, 448.
- Farquharson, Major Victor, 144-5.
- Fasti of St. Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*, The, by H. J. Lawlor, reviewed, 311-12.
- Fearnside, Prof. W. G., on the iron-stove from Hollingbury Camp, 7.
- Federation of old Cornwall Societies, 71.
- Felixtowe, Solutré implements from, 257-8.
- Fens, the, ancient river courses in, 172-3; investigation of the, 453.
- Fibulas, bronze, 40, 64, 65, 67; iron, 55.
- Field, Henry, 68.
- Fifield Bavant (Wilts.), 28, 33.
- Figsbury (Wilts.), 28.
- Figurine pebbles, 232.
- Figurines, calcite, 380-1.
- Fireplaces from Ur, 365, 366.
- Flagons, glass, 62, 165; pottery, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59.
- Flakes, flint, 259-61, 297.
- Flament, A. J., 304.
- Fleur-de-lis and cross motive, the, 173-4.
- Fleure, Prof. H. J., 434.
- Flint: arrow-heads, 148, 149; axe, 450; blades, 235, 257-8; celts, 8, 450; dagger, 450; flakes, 259-61, 297; knives, 148, 158-62; miscellaneous, 148, 174, 294-6, 306-7, 449; nodules, 68; ovate, 68-9; pebbles, 295; point, 259-61; scrapers, 148, 171.
- Flint-knife, the date of the plano-convex, in England and Wales, 158-62.
- Flints, Pressigny, from Guernsey, 68.
- Folk-Lore*, reviewed, 474.
- Food-vessels, the association of the plano-convex flint-knife with, 159-61; Bronze Age, 171, 299-301.
- Forbes, Lord, 166.
- Forde, Prof. Daryll, on jadeite celts, 167.
- Forest of Birse Castle, 163, 166.
- Fornvännen*, reviewed, 111-12, 202, 335.
- Forsdyke, E. J., elected to the Council, 353.
- Forsyth, W. A., 125.
- Fortifications, the, at Alchester, 35-6, 38, 43-8.
- Forts, hill-, 1-16, 28, 32.
- Forum, Roman, at Salamina Altera, 302.
- Foster, Canon C. W., on charters of Henry II, 268, 272.
- Foundations of Bible History*, The, by John Garstang, reviewed, 85-6.
- Fowler, Joseph, ed. *The High Stream of Arundel*, reviewed, 82-4.
- Fowler, Major Gordon, on ancient river courses, 172-3, 453.
- Fox, Cyril, 21, 342.
- Fraudes en archéologie préhistorique*, Les, by A. Vayson de Pradenne, reviewed, 470-2.
- French towns, illustrations of the arms of, 349.
- Frit beads, 381.
- From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, reviewed, 104.
- Frontlets, gold, 366, 367, 368, 369.
- 'Fruit-stands', pottery, 234.
- Furnace, Roman blast, 262-8.
- G., F. LL., review by, 308-9.
- G., R., reviews by, 88, 188-9, 317-18.
- G., W. H., reviews by, 88-90.
- Gadd, C. J., 391.
- Gaffikin, Miss M., 'Food-vessel from co. Down', 299-301.
- Galbraith, V. H., 'Seven Charters of Henry II at Lincoln Cathedral', 269-78.
- Gaming-board, steatite, 391.
- Garbeibio (Montgomery), flint-knife from, 160.
- Gardiner, Alan H., *Description of a Hieratic Papyrus in the Library of A. Chester Beatty*, reviewed, 308-9.
- Gardiner, Dr. E. Norman, 35 n. 1.
- Gardiner, George, Dean of Norwich, 118.
- Gardner, Arthur, elected to the Council, 353; *Medieval Sculpture in France*, reviewed, 312-13.

- Gardner, Dr. Eric, his gifts to the Society, 349.
- Gardner, R. C. B., on the preservation of wood, 14.
- Garstang, John, *The Foundations of Bible History*, reviewed, 85-6.
- Gate-sockets, stone, 375.
- Gaulish fugitives to Britain, 31.
- Gaymer, J. F., 126.
- Geographical Journal*, *The*, reviewed, 96, 192, 474.
- Geology, of Ipswich, 259; of the North Downs, 295-6.
- Georgian England*, by A. E. Richardson, reviewed, 468.
- Germania*, reviewed, 200-1, 332.
- Germanischen Griffzungenschwörter*, *Die*, by Ernst Sprockhoff, reviewed, 186-7.
- Gilchrist, Miss A. G., 24.
- Gilt bronze disc, 174.
- Glass, stained, 116; window, 62.
- Glass objects: beads, 62, 441; bowl, 62; cups, 62; flagons, 62, 165; jugs, 62; ring, 66.
- Glastonbury Abbey, excavation at, 212-13.
- Glevum, the town-wall of 439-40.
- Gloucester, the Roman town-wall of, 439-40.
- Gloucester Museum, bronze axes in the, 284.
- Goat remains, 292, 368.
- Gold objects: bracelets, 162-9; necklaces, 366, 367, 368, 369; ribbon, 366, 367, 368, 369; rings, 366, 367, 368, 369.
- Goode, W. W., 306.
- Gordon, Dr. Cyrus B., 355.
- Gore, Rt. Hon. W. Ormsby, 432.
- Goulding, R. W., his bequest to the Society, 349.
- Graham, R., review by, 311-12.
- Granite forum, Salamina Altera, the, 302; stele from Ur, 386-7.
- Grant, S. Maudson, 241 n.
- Grantham Museum, Roman objects in the, 265, 266-7.
- Graphite, fragment of, 67.
- Gray, G. E. Kruger, 116; elected to the Council, 353.
- Great Church Towers of England*, *The*, by Frank J. Allen, reviewed, 463-6.
- Great Hampden church (Bucks.), wall-paintings in, 306.
- Greece, excavations in, 116, 341.
- Greenwell, Canon, 154.
- Greenwich Album, helmets in the, 141-2, 143.
- Greenwich armour, 141, 143.
- Gretch Veg (Isle of Man), the cairn at, 155.
- Griffin, Ralph, 341.
- Griffiths, Percival Davies, appointed Auditor, 210.
- Grotte des Fées, near Arles, 130.
- Grovehurst dwelling site, the, 161-2.
- Gudea, remains of, at Ur, 363, 392.
- Guernsey, Pressigny flints from, 68.
- Guildford Museum, Roman remains in, 443.
- Gunn, Rev. John, 123.
- Gurney, F. G., 176.
- Haddon, bronze badge from, 450.
- Hadrian, coins of, 63, 266.
- Halstatt pottery, 2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 440.
- Hambledon, Viscount, 445.
- Hamilton, Robert William, 341.
- Hammer, iron, 266.
- Hamoudi, 355.
- Handles: bone, 64; bronze, 64, 65; pottery, 54, 57.
- Hanging-bowl from Leicestershire, 174-5; from Lincolnshire, 452-3.
- Hanging Grimston (Yorks.), bowl from, 154.
- Hanging Langford (Wilts.), 28, 32, 33.
- Hannah, Ian C., 'Bronze Age Burial at Chichester', 170-1; 'Roman Blast Furnace in Lincolnshire', 262-8.
- Hardwicke, Thomas, portrait of, 350.
- Harness mounting, bronze, 65.
- Harot, Eugène, his gift to the Society, 349.
- Harrison, Benjamin, 170.
- Harrison, Sir Edward, 'Palaeolith from the North Downs', 294-6.
- Harrison, Dr. H. S., 435; on pottery from the Mull Hill Circle, 153.
- Harrod, Henry, quoted, 122.
- Hart, Sir Percival, his tomb, 144-5.
- Hartland, Ernest, obituary of, 350.
- Hartley, Dorothy, and Margaret M. Elliot, *Life and Work of the People of England*, reviewed, 91-2.
- Haseley helm, the, 137.
- Haverfield Fund, the, 349.
- Hawkes, Charles Francis Christopher, 210, 341; 'The Colchester excavations', 74-6, 209; on the pottery from Hollingbury Camp, 11-12; 'Roman Gold Bracelets from York', 168-9.
- , and G. C. Dunning, 'The Second Belgic Invasion', 411-30.
- Hawley, Lt.-Col., 29 n.
- Hawthorn charcoal, 293.
- Hazel charcoal, 12, 293.
- Hazeldown (Hants), copper celt from, 70-1.

- Head, Alban, his bequest to the Society, 349; obituary of, 350.
- Hearths: Iron Age, 4; Iron-Bronze Age, 241-3.
- Hedingham Castle helm, the, 137.
- Helmets, two, in St. Botolph's church, Lullingstone (Kent), 116, 136-45.
- Helmsley Castle (Yorks.), excavations at, 179.
- Hembury Fort (Devon), excavations at, 490.
- Hemp, W. J., 'The Navetas of Menorca', 127-35.
- Hencken, H. O'Neill, *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly*, reviewed, 460-1.
- Henderson, A. E., drawings of castles by, 341; elected to the Council, 353.
- Henry, Prince of Wales, his armour, 144.
- Henry I, charter of, 271, 272.
- Henry II, seven charters of, 269-78.
- Henry V, his helm, 137.
- Henry VII, panel portrait of, 342.
- Henry VIII, his coronation, 139; his helmets, 143.
- Heraldic document of 1580, 342; studies, bequest for the advancing of, 349.
- Herdman, Prof. W. A., his excavation of the Mull Hill Circle, 146.
- Hereford Cathedral, helms in, 137.
- Hesperis*, reviewed, 107, 200.
- Heurtley, W. A., 'Excavations at Sérvia in Western Macedonia', 116, 227-38.
- Hewitt, John, 136.
- High Park Corner, 7.
- High Stream of Arundel*, *The*, ed. Joseph Fowler, reviewed, 82-4.
- Hildburgh, W. L., 407, 408, 410; 'An English Alabaster in Holland', 302-5; 'Some further Notes on the Crucifix on the Lily', 24-6.
- Hill, Dr. G. F., 341; elected to the Council, 353.
- Hill, J. H., 240.
- Hill-forts, 1-16, 28, 32.
- Hinge-pin, iron, 266.
- History*, reviewed, 96, 193, 474.
- History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, 4, by O. Elfrida Saunders, reviewed, 469-70.
- History of Scarborough*, *The*, ed. Arthur Rowntree, reviewed, 85.
- History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, reviewed, 327.
- History of the Vikings*, 4, by T. D. Kendrick, reviewed, 180-1.
- Hjørundfjord (Norway), Anglo-Saxon burial at, 441.
- Hoare, Sir R. Colt, on the Stonehenge barrows, 17.
- Hodgkin, Edward, 299.
- Hodgkinson, Henry Robert, 341, 342.
- Holland-Martin, R., 354.
- Hollingbury Camp (Sussex), excavations at, 1-16.
- Hollman, Albert, 294.
- Hollyer, Miss, 409.
- Honorius, coins of, 63, 266 n. 2.
- Hornbeam charcoal, 12.
- Hornblower, George Davis, 210, 341.
- Horse remains, 47, 67, 292.
- Horse-bit, iron, 441.
- Horse chestnut charcoal, 293.
- Howman, W. Cox, 280, 284, 293.
- Huckle, F. E., 168, 453, 455.
- Hudson, Rev. W., on Norwich cathedral, 122.
- Hull, M. R., 76, 208.
- Hulse, Sir Hamilton John Bt., obituary of, 350.
- Human remains, 135, 230, 279, 280, 296, 297, 362, 366-9, 442, 443, 444, 445.
- Hut, Saxon, 284-93.
- Hut-circles, prehistoric, 254-6.
- Hutchinson, R. W., 76.
- Hutton Moor earthworks, 156.
- Ibrahim, 355.
- Ightham (Kent), palaeolith from, 294-6.
- Ightham Common (Kent), beaker from, 169-70.
- Iliffe, J. H., 'Excavations at Alchester, 1928', 35-67.
- Incineration, Belgic, 296-8.
- Indian Antiquary*, *The*, reviewed, 102, 198, 329, 480.
- Ingoldmells Point (Lincs.), prehistoric sites on and near, 239-56.
- Inscriptions, medieval, 176; Roman, 437-9; from Ur, 358, 375, 376, 377, 387.
- Institute of Archaeology, the proposed, 215-16.
- International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, 74, 216-18, 349, 431-6.
- Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Herefordshire*, vol. 1, *South-West*, reviewed, 77-8.
- Ipplepen (Devon), copper celt from, 70.
- Ipswich, Solutré implements from, 258-61.
- Ipswich Museum, Solutré blade in the, 258.
- Iron Age: brooches, 453-5; hearth, 4; mill-pot, 1-16; pot, 437; pottery, miscellaneous, 440.
- Iron-Bronze Age: blocks, 248-9; bowls, 243-4; dishes, 244-6; dish-stools, 246-8, 250; hearths, 241-3; pottery,

- miscellaneous, 241, 250, 251; rods, 242-50, 231; slabs, 246.
- Iron objects: cleat, 292; crowbar, 67; chisel, 266; curling-iron (?), 266; fragments, Roman, 264-5, 267-8; hammer, 266; hinge-pin, 266; horse-bit, 441; keys, 266; knives, 47, 65, 66, 67, 266, 292; ladle, 266; latch-lifter, 75; nails, 266, 292; ox-shoe, 291; ring, 66; shield-bosses, 444-5; sickle, 266; spear-heads, 442-3, 444; sword, 441; trowel, 266.
- Iron-stone fragments, 6-7.
- Isin remains at Ur, 375.
- Isle of Wight, Belgic incineration in the, 296-8, 455.
- Italian bronze brooches, 453-5.
- Ivory draughtsman, medieval, 177-8.
- J., C., review by, 318.
- Jacob, Prof. E. F., 342.
- Jadeite celt, 167.
- James, Rev. Cholmondeley Sherwood, obituary of, 350.
- James, M. R., and C. Jenkins, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, reviewed, 318.
- Jansen, J., 304.
- Japanese and British beliefs, parallels between, 25-6.
- Jar-sealings from Ur, 357.
- Jars, clay, 380; pottery, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 232.
- Jeffery, G. E., 'The Granite Forum and Clepsydra, Salamina Altera, Cyprus', 302.
- Jemdet Nasr remains at Ur, 358.
- Jervoise, E., *The Ancient Bridges of the North of England*, reviewed, 87.
- Jervoise, F. H. T., 342.
- Jessup, R. F., 'Two Early Bronze-Age Beakers', 169-70.
- Johnson, C., elected to the Council, 353; reviews by, 313-14, 456.
- Johnson, Dr. John, his gift to the Society, 349.
- Jones, R. L. W., 35 n. 1.
- Jordan, Dr., 383 n.
- Journal of a Somerset Rector, John Skinner*, reviewed, 317-18.
- Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, The*, reviewed, 191-2, 474.
- Journal of Hellenic Studies*, reviewed, 323, 474.
- Journal of Roman Studies, The*, reviewed, 97-8, 194, 475-6.
- Journal of the Architectural Association, The*, reviewed, 95.
- Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, reviewed, 191, 473.
- Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, reviewed, 96, 323.
- Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 327.
- Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 324.
- Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, reviewed, 478.
- Journal of the Manx Museum, The*, reviewed, 328.
- Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, reviewed, 95, 322.
- Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, reviewed, 191.
- Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, reviewed, 101-2, 327.
- Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, reviewed, 95, 322, 473.
- Jugs, glass, 62; pottery, 53, 178.
- Kassite remains at Ur, 356, 376, 384, 390.
- Keiller, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander, 162 n. 1; their excavation of Abergairn Castle, 164, 166.
- Keith, Sir Arthur, on human remains from a Belgic incineration, 297.
- Kelly, Francis M., and R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costumes and Armour*, reviewed, 318-20.
- Kendrick, T. D., *A History of the Vikings*, reviewed, 180-1.
- Kenn (Devon), lily-crucifix at, 24.
- Kent, E. A., 116, 126.
- Kentish Cartulary of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, A*, by Charles Cotton, reviewed, 183-5.
- Kermode, P. M. C., his work on the Mull Hill Circle, 146, 147, 149 n., 157.
- Kettlach find, the, 174.
- Kew Gardens, beaker from, 170.
- Keys, iron, 266.
- Kidwelly Castle, excavations at, 342.
- Kilham long barrow (Yorks.), bowl from, 154.
- King, Colonel E. J., *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, reviewed, 86-7.
- Kingston Down (Kent), bowl from, 173.
- Kirkham Priory (Yorks.), excavations at, 178-9.
- Kitson, S. D., review by, 77-8.
- Klein, W. G. 342.
- Knap Hill (Wilts.), 28, 412.
- Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land, The*, by Colonel E. J. King, reviewed, 86-7.
- Knives: bronze, 67, 445; copper, 367; flint, 148, 158-62; iron, 47, 65, 66, 67, 266, 292.

- Knock Castle, 164.
 Knocker, H. W., 116.
 Knowles, W. H., 439.
Kulturströmungen in Europa zur Steinzeit, by G. Rosenberg, reviewed, 185-6.
Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse, reviewed, 112.
 Kuri-Galzu, remains of, at Ur, 376, 377, 386, 387, 388, 389.

 L., E. T., review by, 309-11.
 Labouchere, M. E., 304.
 Lacey, Rev. Canon Thomas Alexander, obituary of, 350.
 Ladle, iron, 266.
 Lagash remains at Ur, 361, 362, 387.
 Laking, Sir Guy, 136.
 Lamb, Winifred, 341.
 Lambarde, Brig.-General Fane, appointed Auditor, 210.
 Lambert, Sir Henry Charles Miller, 210, 341.
 Lancashire, pax from, 445.
 Langford church, grant of, 273, 276.
 Lankester, Sir Ray, 299.
 Lantern slides in the Society's possession, 349, 350.
 Lapis lazuli: beads, 367, 381; seals, 365, 368.
 Larsa remains, 375, 376, 377, 379, 389, 391.
 Latch-lifter, iron, 75.
 La Tène bowl, 252; situla, 455.
 La Tène I pottery, 2, 4, 11.
 La Tène III brooches, the introduction of, into Wessex, 27, 31, 417-8; pottery, 440.
 Lattey, R. T., 35 n. 1.
 Lawlor, H. J., *The Fasti of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*, reviewed, 311-12.
 Leac Con Mic Ruis megaliths (Sligo), the, 156.
 Leaden plumb-line bob, 66.
 Leaf, C. S., 173.
 Leaf-shaped arrow-heads, 149, 155.
 Leakey, L. S. B., *The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony*, reviewed, 315-16.
 Leather scabbard, 177.
 Leeds, E. Thurlow, 116, 279, 284, 286, 287, 349, 354, 435.
 Legh, Hon. Richard, 167.
 Leicester, palaeolith from, 306-7.
 Leicester, the Earl of, 125.
 Leicestershire, hanging-bowl from, 174-5.
 Lethbridge, T. C., 'Ancient River Courses in the Fens and the Roman Occupation', 172-3.
 Lethenty Castle, 163.
 Lewis, R. R., his gift to the Society, 349.
 Lewis, T. B., 116.
 Library, *The*, reviewed, 193, 324, 475.

Library of A. Chester Beatty, Hieratic papyrus in the, by A. N. Gardiner, reviewed, 308-9.
 Liddbury (Wilts.), 28.
 Liddell, Dorothy, 342, 490.
Life and Work of the People of England, by Dorothy Hartley and Margaret M. Elliot, reviewed, 91-2.
 Lily, the crucifix on the, 24-6.
 Limestone head, 386.
 Lincoln Cathedral, seven charters of Henry II in (and in part, to), 269-78.
 Lincolnshire, Roman blast furnace in, 262-8.
 Lincolnshire coast, the prehistoric pottery sites of the, 239-53: introduction, 239-40; stratigraphy, 240-1; general description, 241-3; the pottery and associated accessories, 243-51; the industry of the Red Mounds, 251-2; age of the sites, 252-3; timber structures associated with, 254-6.
Lincolnshire Notes and Queries, reviewed, 99, 195-6, 325-6.
 Linear earthworks of the Southern Chalk, 342.
 Litledale, Willoughby Aston, portrait of, 349.
 Little Hampden church (Bucks.), wall-painting in; 306.
 Little Kimble (Bucks.), wall-painting at, 306.
 Little Missenden church (Bucks.), wall-paintings in, 305-6.
Littorina littorea, shell of, 148.
 Livett, Canon G. M., 341.
 Lloyd, Dean of Norwich, 118.
 London: Blossoms Inn, leather scabbard from, 177; —, pottery jug from, 178; Customs House before 1400, 341; —, excavations in, 343; Guildhall Museum, medieval objects in the, 177-8; —, Roman objects in the, 437-9; King William Street, Roman flagon from, 439; London Museum, exhibition of British Archaeology, 432; —, Iron-Age pot in, 437; Moorgate, draughtsman from, 177-8; Tower of London, helm in the, 137, 142 n., 143; University of, its proposed Institute of Archaeology, 215-16; Upper Thames Street, Roman object from, 437-9; Victoria and Albert Museum, alabasters in, 407, 408; —, drawings of armour in the, 143; Wallace Collection, the helm in the, 137; Westminster Abbey, sculptured head in, 209; —, helms in, 136, 137.
 Long Melford church (Suffolk), lily-crucifix in, 24-5.

- Longman, William, appointed Auditor, 210.
- Loops, bronze Sussex, 2.
- Losinga, Bishop, Herbert de, 117, 120, 123, 125.
- Lowther, A. W. G., 444.
- Lugs, pottery, 235.
- Lukis, C., 248 n., 253.
- Lukis Museum, the, 68.
- Lullingstone (Kent), St. Botolph's church, two helmets in, 136-45.
- Lyme Park (Cheshire), celt from, 167.
- Lyons, Colonel Croft, his bequest to the Society, 349.
- Maby, J. Cecil, reports on charcoal by, 12, 292-3.
- Macedonia, armlet from, 69; excavations in, 116.
- MacLagan, Eric R. D., elected to the Council, 353; appointed Vice-President, 490; Medieval Alabasters from Naworth Castle', 407-10, 490.
- Maclaren, B. H., 1.
- Magnentius, coin of, 63.
- Magnus Maximus, coin of, 63.
- Mahr, A., review by, 78-80.
- Mallorca, the rock-tombs of, 127, 128, 130.
- Man, reviewed, 193.
- Mann, J. G., 342; review by, 318-20; 'Two Helmets in St. Botolph's Church, Lullingstone, Kent', 116, 136-45.
- Manms, reviewed, 201.
- Mantell, Gideon, 2.
- Manx Museum, 149 n.
- Manx pottery, 146-57.
- Marble bead, 366.
- Margary, Ivan Donald, 210, 342.
- Margidunum, 265, 266.
- Mariner's Mirror, The, reviewed, 97, 193-4, 324, 475.
- Marmite, copper, 368.
- Marston, Sir Charles, 342.
- Marston Moretaine helm, the, 138 n. 1.
- Martin-Atkins, Edward, 13.
- Martingale, bronze, 445.
- Mason's works, collection of, 349.
- Matthey, Lt.-Col. Cyril George Rigby, obituary of, 350.
- Matting from Ur, 358, 362, 367, 368, 369, 371.
- Mattingly, Harold, 76.
- May, Thomas, obituary of, 350, 352.
- Mead, William Edward, *The English Medieval Feast*, reviewed, 90-1.
- Medals bequeathed to the Society, 349.
- Medieval: alabasters, 407-10; aquamaniles, 116, 446-8; badge, 450; draughtsman, 177-8; enamel, 450, 452; inscriptions, 176; jug, 178; nail, 292; ox-shoe, 291; pax, 445-6; pottery, miscellaneous, 170; scabbard, 177; spoon, 73-4, 116; wall-paintings, 393-406.
- Medieval Books of Merton College, The*, by F. M. Powicke, reviewed, 313-14.
- Medieval Sculpture in France*, by Arthur Gardner, reviewed, 312-13.
- Megalithic: chambered cairns, the origin of, 127; Mull Hill Circle, 146-57.
- Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, reviewed, 107.
- Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, reviewed, 110, 485.
- Menorca, the navetas of, 127-35.
- Mermaid and Mitre Taverns in Old London, The*, by Kenneth Rogers, reviewed, 93.
- Mes-kalam-dug, remains of, at Ur, 362.
- Messent, Claude J. W., *The Ruined Churches of Norfolk*, reviewed, 316-17.
- Middleham Castle (Yorks.), excavations at, 179.
- Mills, Mabel, 341.
- Minet, William, elected Treasurer, 353.
- Minter, R. A., 35 n. 1.
- Mirror, bronze, 67.
- Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, reviewed, 97, 324, 475.
- Mitford, Major-Gen., 342.
- Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, reviewed, 198.
- Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, reviewed, 335.
- Moir, J. Reid, 'Further Solutré Implements from Suffolk, 257-61.
- Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157*, by Joan Evans, reviewed, 181-3.
- Monspeliensia*, reviewed, 108.
- Montgomerie, D. H., his gifts to the Society, 349.
- Montgomeryshire Collections*, reviewed, 101.
- Months, the twelve, motive in wall-paintings, 393, 394-6.
- Monumental brasses, 341.
- Monumental Effigies of Sussex, 1250-1650, The*, by H. R. Mosse, reviewed, 89.
- Morgan's Hill (Wilts.), 28.
- Mortaria, pottery, 60-1, 75.
- Mosse, H. R., *The Monumental Effigies of Sussex, 1250-1650*, reviewed, 89.
- Mounds, the Red, the industry of, 239-53.
- Muchelney Abbey (Somerset), excavations at, 179.

- Mugs, pottery, 232, 233, 234; steatite, 391.
- Mull Hill Circle (Isle of Man), the, and its pottery, 146-57.
- Müller, Dr. Sophus, 167.
- Mummery, Rev. T. F. J., 136.
- Mundy, P. C. D., 116.
- Mura di Roma repubblicana*, *Le*, by Goesta Säfslund, reviewed, 456-8.
- Musgrave, A. E., 'Examination of a Fragment of Roman Iron recovered from the Colsterworth Furnace', 267-8.
- Mylonas, George E., *Excavations at Olynthus: the Neolithic Settlement*, reviewed, 458-60.
- Myres, Prof. J. L., 116, 216, 218, 435.
- Myres, J. N. L., review by, 80-2.
- N., J. G., reviews by, 90-2.
- Nabonidus, remains of, at Ur, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 384.
- Nails, iron, 266, 292.
- Namurcum*, reviewed, 105, 329.
- Nannar, remains of, at Ur, 374, 375, 381, 388.
- National monuments, excavations in, 178-9.
- National Trust, the Society represented on the Council of the, 349.
- Navetas of Menorca, the, 127-35.
- Naworth Castle (Cumberland), medieval alabasters from, 407-10.
- Nebuchadnezzar, remains of, at Ur, 356, 357, 374, 384.
- Necklaces from Ur, 366, 367, 368, 369.
- Needles, bone, 64, 292; bronze, 64.
- Nelson, Dr. Philip, 116; 'An English Equestrian Aquamanile', 446-8; 'An English medieval wooden Pax', 445-6.
- Neolithic: axes, 232, 298-9; bowls, 232; celts, 8, 167; cup, 232; dishes, 232; mugs, 232; pebble figurines, 232; pottery from Mull Hill Circle, 146-57; vases, 231-2.
- Nerva, coin of, 63.
- New Grange (Ireland), bracelets from, 169.
- New York, Metropolitan Museum, gaming-board in the, 391.
- Newall, R. S., 28 n. 11.
- Newton, Mr., 369, 370.
- Nicholson, Sir Charles, his plan of the eastern chapel of Norwich, 120, 125, 126.
- Niello brooch, 174.
- Nodules, flint, 68.
- Noppen, J. G., reviews by, 468, 469-70.
- Norfolk Archaeology*, reviewed, 478.
- Norfolk Record Society*, vol. i, reviewed, 189-90.
- Norman: element in Norwich Cathedral, 118-23; origin of wheel-turned pottery, the, 27-30; spoon, 73-4.
- Norman, Philip, obituary of, 350, 352.
- Norwich, the Cathedral Church of, eastern chapels in the, 116, 117-26; transepts, the bosses in the, 342.
- Notcutt, Roger, 257, 258.
- Notizie degli Scavi*, reviewed, 108-9, 332-4, 482.
- Numismatic Chronicle*, *The*, reviewed, 97, 194, 475.
- Nur-Adad, cylinders of, 375, 376.
- Oak charcoal, 8, 12, 293.
- Oare (Wilts.), 28, 31.
- Oatlands palace, Wyngaerde's view of, 349.
- Obsidian blades, 230 n., 235.
- Oculist's stamp, Roman, 437-9.
- Oldbury Camp (Wilts.), 32, 33.
- Old-Time New England*, reviewed, 103, 198, 480-1.
- Oliver's Camp (Wilts.), 28, 32, 33.
- Ollas, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 443.
- Oman, Sir Charles, *The Coinage of England*, reviewed, 187-8.
- O'Neil, B. H. St. J., 'Roman Villa in Cornwall', 71-2.
- Oppenheimer, Henry, obituary of, 350.
- Ordnance maps, gift of, to the Society, 349.
- Origini della Civiltà Italiana*, *Le*, by Ugo Rellini, reviewed, 468-9.
- Ornament, bone, 66.
- Oswald, Dr. Felix, 265 n. 1, 266 n. 1; on Roman pottery from Ingoldmells Point, 252.
- Otford helmet, the, 144.
- Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit 's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, reviewed, 108, 482.
- Ovate, flint, 68-9.
- Owen, William Geoffrey, 449.
- Ox-remains, 254, 292.
- Ox-shoe, iron, 291.
- Oxford: Queen's College, lily-crucifix at, 25.
- P., J. W. R., review by, 85.
- Painting, panel, of an Annunciation group, 209; of Henry VII, 342.
- , wall-, in Buckinghamshire churches, 305-6; Byzantine, 341; in Wiltshire, 393-406.
- Palaeoliths from Leicester, 306-7; the North Downs, 294-6; Wakefield, 449, 450.
- Palstave, bronze, 2.

- Panagia Asinou (Cyprus), Byzantine wall-paintings at, 341.
- Panel painting of an Annunciation group, 209; of Henry VII, 342.
- Paris, Pierre, obituary of, 350, 353.
- Park Brow, 10.
- Parker, James Frederick, 209-10, 341.
- Parsons, Rev. H., 70.
- Passion alabaster, a, 304-5.
- Patera, bronze, 76.
- Paxes, wooden, 116, 445-6.
- Pearce, John William Ernest, 341.
- Pearce-Serocold, Colonel Oswald, 210, 341.
- Pebbles, chipped figurine, 232; flint, 295.
- Pechy, Sir John, and his tomb, 136, 138-41.
- Peers, Sir Charles, 116, 209, 210, 341, 342, 431, 490; his 'Anniversary Address', 211-26, 354; and Norwich Cathedral, 123, 126; elected President, 353; appointed the Society's representative on various bodies, 349.
- Pembridge, Sir Richard, the helm of, 137.
- Perowne, J. V., 116.
- Persian remains at Ur, 391-2.
- Pevensy Castle, medieval spoon from, 73-4.
- Pickering, A. J., 174.
- Pig remains, 292.
- Piggott, S., 130 *π.1*; on some English neolithic dwellings, 210; 'The Mull Hill Circle, Isle of Man, and its Pottery,' 146-57.
- Pins, bronze, 64, 66; copper, 367; silver, 369.
- Pitfichie Castle, 163.
- Pitt-Rivers, A., 13, 28, 32.
- Pixley, Col. Francis William, appointed Auditor, 210.
- Plano-convex flint-knife in England and Wales, the date of the, 158-62.
- Plaque, terra-cotta, 76.
- Platter, pottery, 75.
- Playing Cards*, by W. Gurney Benham, reviewed, 92-3.
- Plumb-line bob, leaden, 66.
- Point, flint, 259-61.
- Pollitt, William, 'Bronze objects from south-east Essex', 74.
- Pontevedra, Museum of Galician Art and Antiquities, alabaster in the, 410.
- Poole, H. F., 'A Belgic Incineration in the Isle of Wight', 296-8, 455.
- Poplar charcoal, 293.
- Portal, Sir William Wyndham, Bt., obituary of, 350.
- Portstewart, bowls from, 154.
- Pot-boilers, 4, 8.
- Pots, calcite, 380; clay, 366, 368, 369; pottery, 148, 151, 233, 280, 282, 285, 288, 289, 296, 297-8, 437, 444.
- Potters' stamps, 61-2.
- Potter's wheel, the alleged introduction into Wessex of the, 27-30, 412-16.
- Pottery: bead-rim, representing a Second Belgic invasion, 27-34, 411-30; Belgic, 27-34, 296-8, 411-30; Bronze Age, 169-70, 171, 171-2, 235, 236, 280, 282, 284, 299-301; Hallstatt, 2, 4, 7, 10, 12, 440; Iron Age, 440; Iron-Bronze Age, 239-53; La Tène, 252; La Tène I, 2, 4, 11; La Tène III, 440; medieval, 170, 178; neolithic, 146-57, 231-2; Roman, 3, 8, 40-61, 64, 65, 72, 75, 133, 135, 170, 252, 254, 279, 439, 440, 443; Saxon, 284-6, 288-90, 443-4; Thessalian, 231-7; from Ur, 361, 363, 366, 368, 369, 391.
- Pottery objects: beakers, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 169-70, 171-2, 288, 289; blocks, 248-9; bowls, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 75, 149, 151, 152, 154, 155, 232, 233, 234, 235, 243-4, 252, 288, 437, 439, 443; braziers, 290; cups, 53, 56, 60, 150, 232, 234, 289; dishes, 56, 59, 60, 232, 233, 234, 244-6; dish-stools, 246-8, 250; flagons, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 439; food-vessel, 299-301; 'fruit-stands', 234; jars, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 232; jugs, 53, 178; lugs, 235; miscellaneous, 2, 4, 40-53, 72, 75, 133, 135, 148-55, 165, 231-5, 241, 250, 251, 279, 280, 284, 285, 287, 361, 363, 391, 440, 443; mortaria, 60-1, 75; mugs, 232, 233, 234; ollas, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 443; platter, 75; pots, 148, 151, 233, 280, 282, 285, 288, 289, 296, 297-8, 437, 444; rods, 249-50, 251; slabs, 246; spindle-whorl, 286, 292; urns, 55, 58, 59, 148, 296-7, 443-4; vases, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235; vessels, 33, 148, 170-1.
- Pottery sites, prehistoric, of the Lincolnshire coast, 239-53.
- Poulter, H. W., 76.
- Powicke, F. M., *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, reviewed, 313-14.
- Prattinton Collection of Worcestershire History, *The*, by E. A. B. Barnard, reviewed, 93-4.
- Précis analytique de l'Académie de Rouen*, reviewed, 108.
- Prehistoric pottery sites of the Lincolnshire coast, the, 239-53, timber structures associated with, 254-6.
- Pressigny flints from Guernsey, 68.

- Preston, Arthur E., *Christ's Hospital, Abingdon*, reviewed, 88-9.
- Preston, Henry, on the Woolsthorpe blast furnace, 265, 266, 267.
- Price, S., 35 n. 1.
- Priorities formerly in England, MS. list of, 349.
- Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, reviewed, 198, 480.
- Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, reviewed, 102.
- Proceedings of the British Academy*, reviewed, 322.
- Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, reviewed, 98-9.
- Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, reviewed, 96-7.
- Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 478.
- Proceedings of the Littlehampton Natural Science and Archaeology Society*, reviewed, 99.
- Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, reviewed, 103.
- Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*, reviewed, 325.
- Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, reviewed, 198, 327, 480.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, reviewed, 100, 196, 326.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, reviewed, 326-7.
- Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 478-9.
- Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, reviewed, 479.
- Pryce, F. N., 168.
- Pryce, Dr. T. Davies, 75; elected to the Council, 353.
- Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, reviewed, 194.
- Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society*, reviewed, 490.
- Pyrus charcoal, 12.
- Pywell, J. A., 443.
- Quarrell, W. H., 209, 341; his gifts to the Society, 350.
- Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, The*, reviewed, 102, 328, 480.
- Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, reviewed, 97, 194, 324, 475.
- Quartzite beads, 381.
- Querns, stone, 44, 65-6, 290, 443.
- R., C. A. R., reviews by, 458-60, 468-9.
- R., E. A. R., reviews by, 87-8.
- Radford, C. A. Raleigh, 342.
- Radnage church (Bucks.), wall-painting in, 306.
- Rafal Rubi, the navetas of, 131-3, 134.
- Ragley Park (Warwick), brooch from, 174.
- Rahbula, E. A. R., 443.
- Raphael, O. C., 209.
- Razor, copper, 380.
- Reader, Francis W., his copies of wall-paintings, 305, 306.
- Records of Buckinghamshire*, reviewed, 98, 477.
- Reculver cross, a new fragment of the, 341.
- Red Hills, the Essex, 251.
- Red Mounds industry, the, 239-53.
- Registrum Primum*, the, quoted, 117-18, 122, 125.
- Rellini, Ugo, *Le Origini della Civiltà Italica*, reviewed, 468-9.
- Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, reviewed, 109, 201, 334.
- Rendiconti, Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 482-3.
- Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, reviewed, 195.
- Report of the Marlborough College Natural History Society*, reviewed, 326.
- Revue Africaine*, reviewed, 482.
- Revue Anthropologique*, reviewed, 105, 200, 330.
- Revue Archéologique*, reviewed, 105-6, 331, 481.
- Ribbon, gold, 366, 367, 368, 369.
- Rice, R. Garraway, elected to the Council, 353.
- Richardson, A. E., *Georgian England*, reviewed, 468.
- Richardson, F. L. W., 355.
- Richborough, excavations at, 211-12, 342.
- Richmond, I. A., review by, 456-8.
- Rievaulx Abbey (Yorks), excavations at, 179.
- Rigg, Major Richard, 116.
- Riley, Mrs., 170.
- Rims, pottery, 52.
- Rings: Bronze, 2, 445; clay, 284, 285, 290; glass, 66; gold, 366, 367, 368, 369, 391; iron, 66; silver, 391.
- River courses, ancient, in the Fens, 172-3.
- Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, reviewed, 201-2, 483-4.
- Robinson, David M., *Excavations at Olynthus*, Parts 2 and 4, reviewed, 458-60.
- Roddon (ancient river course), 172, 173.
- Rods, pottery, 349-50, 251.

- Rogers, Kenneth, *The Mermaid and Mitre Taverns in Old London*, reviewed, 93.
- Roman objects: amphitheatre, 214-15, 307; bar (crowbar?), 67; beakers, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60; bowls, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 75, 288, 439, 443; bracelets, 168-9; brooches, 66, 72, 75; camp, 74-6; chain, 64; charcoal, 264; chisel, 266; clepsydra, 302; coins, 43, 44, 62-3, 72, 75-6, 266; comb, 64; cups, 53, 56, 60; curling-iron (?), 266; dish, 56, 59, 60; fibulas, 40, 64, 65, 67; flagons, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 439; floor, tessellated, 71; forum, 302; furnace, blast, 262-8; glass, miscellaneous, 62, 66; hammer, 266; handles, 54, 57, 64, 65; harness mounting, 65; hinge-pin, 266; houses, 35, 36, 38, 41-3, 71-2; inscriptions, 437-9; iron fragments, 264-5, 267-8; jars, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60; jug, 53; keys, 266; knives, 47, 65, 66, 67, 266; ladle, 266; latch-lifter, 75; mirror, 67; mortar, 60-1, 75; nails, 266; needles, 64; oculist's stamp, 437-9; ollas, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 443; ornaments, 66; patera, 76; pins, 64, 66; plaque, 76; platter, 75; plumb-line bob, 66; potters' stamps, 61-2; pottery, miscellaneous, 3, 8, 40-53, 72, 75, 133, 135, 170, 252, 279, 287, 440, 443; rings, 66; sculpture, 267; sheathing, 66; sickle, 266; spoons, 65, 66, 288, 292; station, 241, 252, 254; tiles, 42, 76, 443; tower, 35-6, 40-1; trowel, 266; tweezers, 66; urns, 55, 58, 59, 148, 279; vessels, 53; villa, 71-2; wall, town-, 439-40; whetstone, 66; wooden fragments, 47, 65.
- occupation of the Fens, the, 172-3; remains in Britain, exaggeration of, 219-20.
- Romance of the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea, The*, by F. Dawtrey Drewitt, reviewed, 89-90.
- Romans, Rev. Thomas, 341, 342.
- Römische Mitteilungen*, reviewed, 110-11, 334.
- Rose, J. C., 355, 370, 371.
- Roseisle (Moray), bowl from, 154, 155.
- Rosenberg, G., *Kulturströmungen in Europa zur Steinzeit*, reviewed, 185-6.
- Ross-Williamson, R. P., 355.
- Rotherley (Wilts.), 28.
- Rowntree, Arthur, ed. *The History of Scarborough*, reviewed, 85.
- Royal Anthropological Institute, 216, 349.
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Herefordshire*, vol. i, *South-West*, reviewed, 77-8.
- Royal Historical Society, the Alexander Prize, 307.
- Royal Institution of Cornwall, 71.
- Rubane Farm (co. Down), food-vessel from, 299-301.
- Ruined Churches of Norfolk, The*, by C. J. W. Messent, reviewed, 316-17.
- Rushforth, G. McN., review by, 461-3.
- Rutland, Duke of, 450.
- Ry, Hubert de, 125.
- Rye, Walter, quoted, 122.
- Säflund, Goesta, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana*, reviewed, 456-8.
- St. Botolph's church, Lullingstone (Kent), two helmets from, 116.
- St. Catherine, wall-painting of, 306.
- St. Catherine's Hill, 12, 13.
- St. Christopher, wall-painting of, 306.
- St. Helier (Jersey), the dolmens at, 156.
- St. Mary in the Marsh church, Norwich, 117, 123.
- St. Michael in Tombland church, 123.
- St. Peter's church, Bradwell-on-Sea, 124.
- St. Peter's church (Dunstable), inscribed stones in, 175-7.
- St. Thomas Becket in Art*, by Tancred Borenius, reviewed, 461-3.
- Salamina Altera (Cyprus), excavations at, 302.
- Salin, Bernhard, obituary of, 350, 353.
- Salisbury Cathedral, wall-paintings in, 393-6.
- Salisbury Museum, medieval objects in, 397 n., 398, 403, 405 n.
- Salter, Rev. H. E., on charters of Henry II, 269, 271.
- Saltersford (Lincs.), Roman site at, 266.
- Sands, Harold, 341.
- San Vicente, the burial caves of, 128, 134.
- Sardinia, the 'Giant's Grave' in, 128.
- Sargon, remains of, at Ur, 361.
- Sargonic remains at Ur, 357, 361, 362, 366, 367.
- Saucer, copper, 369.
- Saunders, Dr. H. W., 126.
- Saunders, O. Elfrida, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, reviewed, 469-70.
- Saxon element in Norwich Cathedral, the, 123-4.
- Saxon objects: beakers, 288, 289; brazier, 290; brooches, 341; cemetery, 442-5; charcoal, 292-3; cup, 289; hut, 284-93; knife, 292; pots, 285, 288, 289, 444; pottery, miscellaneous, 284, 285;

- quern-stones, 290, 443; rings, 284, 285, 290; seat, 286; shield-bosses, 444-5; spear-heads, 442-3, 444; spindle-whorl, 286, 292; urn, 443-4.
- Scabbard, leather, 177.
- Scandinavian type flints from Wakefield, 449, 450.
- Schwabe, Randolph, F. M. Kelly and, *A Short History of Costumes and Armour*, reviewed, 318-20.
- Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zürich, *Jahresbericht*, reviewed, 112.
- Scott, Sir Robert Forsyth, ed. *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, reviewed, 88.
- Scrapers, flint, 148, 171.
- Scoope, Lord, drawings of his armour, 143, 144.
- Sculpture, Roman, 267; from Ur, 360, 380-1.
- Sculptured head in Westminster Abbey, 209.
- Seal-impressions from Ur, 390.
- Seals, of Brentwood Grammar School, 349; from Ur, 357, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369, 380, 390.
- Seamer Moor barrow, the, 161.
- See, W., 70.
- Selby, Major R. Luard, 170.
- Seligman, Prof. C. G., 435.
- Serocold, Col., 445.
- Sérvia (Macedonia), excavations at, 227-38; stratigraphy, 227-31; the pottery and other finds, 231-5; conclusion, 235-7; chronology, 237-8.
- Shadwell, Walter Henry Lancelot, obituary of, 350.
- Sheathing, bronze, 66.
- Sheep remains, 67, 254, 292.
- Shell: beads, 367, 381; seal, 367.
- Shell of *Littorina littorea*, 148.
- Shepard, Major, 349.
- Sherwin, G. A., on Belgic pottery, 296, 297-8, 455.
- Shetelig, Haakon, review by, 180-1.
- Shield-bosses, bronze, 445; iron, 444-5.
- Shoebury (Essex), bronze objects from, 74.
- Short History of Costumes and Armour*, A, by F. M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, reviewed, 318-20.
- Shrines at Ur, 384, 386.
- Sickle, iron, 266.
- Silchester (Hants), the church of, 124.
- Silver objects: bowl, 368; bracelets, 366, 367, 368, 369; brooch, 173, 174; cups, 209, 341; disc, 444; pin, 369; spoon, 73-4.
- Simms, R. S., 'Medieval Spoon from Pevensey Castle', 73-4, 116; 'Objects from Warkworth Castle', 301-2.
- Simpson, W. Douglas, 'Abergairn Castle, Aberdeenshire', 163-6.
- Sinbalatsu-iqbi, remains of, at Ur, 387.
- Situla, bronze, 455.
- Skeletons, 230, 442, 443, 445.
- Skilbeck, C. O., elected to the Council, 353; 'Wall-paintings in Buckinghamshire churches', 305-6.
- Skinner, John, *Journal of a Somerset Rector*, reviewed, 317-18.
- Skyrme, Rev. F. E., 403.
- Slabs, pottery, 246; steatite, 391.
- Slinging-stones, 66.
- Smirke, Robert, jun., portrait of, 350.
- Smith, Sir C. H., 125.
- Smith, Reginald A., 168, 433, 441; on the chronology of arrow-heads, 149; elected Director, 353; on the Red Mounds pottery, 251, 252, 253.
- Smith, Sidney, 434.
- Smythe, Sir John, his helmet, 143.
- Société Jersiaise: Bulletin annuel*, reviewed, 102.
- Society of Antiquaries: Anniversary Address, 211-26, 354; —, Meeting, 342-54; Auditors, appointment of, 210; —, report of, 342; bequests, 349; Council, report of the, 342; excavations by, 211-13, 342-3; Fellows, election and admission of, 116, 209-10, 341-2; gifts, other than to the library, 209, 349-50; lantern slides, proposed catalogue of, 349; library, catalogues of the, 343; —, gifts to the, 116, 209, 343-8; obituaries, 350-3; Officers and Council, election of, 353; proceedings, 116, 209-10, 341-54, 490; publications, 348; Research Committee and Fund, 343, 349; Treasurer, report of the, 353; —, vote of thanks to the, 342.
- Socketed celt, the origin of the, 167-8.
- Solutré implements from Suffolk, 257-61.
- Son Caulellas cave, the, 127.
- Southend-on-Sea Museum, bronze objects in the, 24.
- Spanish armour, 342.
- Spaull, B. W., 119.
- Spear-heads, bronze, 445; iron, 442-3, 444.
- Spindle-whorl, pottery, 286-92.
- Spoons, bone, 66; bronze, 65, 288, 292; copper, 369; silver, 73-4, 116.
- Sprockhoff, Ernst, *Die germanischen Griffzungenschwerter*, reviewed, 186-7.
- Stained glass, 116.
- Station, Roman, 241, 252, 254.
- Statuettes, calcite, 380.

- Stavert, Rev. Canon William James, obituary of, 350.
- Steatite: bead, 367; bowl, 391-2; gaming-board, 391; mug, 391; seal, 364; slab, 391; stamp, 437-9.
- Stephen, Master, scribe, 274-6, 277.
- Stephenson, Mill, 144-5.
- Stevens, Frank, 398 n. 1, 403.
- Stoke Golding (Leicester), hanging-bowl from, 174-5.
- Stokes, Rev. Canon Henry Paine, obituary of, 350, 352.
- Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony, The*, by L. S. B. Leakey, reviewed, 315-16.
- Stone objects: axes, 232, 298-9; celt, 450; gate-sockets, 375; head, 386; querns, 44, 65-6, 290, 443; seat, 286; slabs, inscribed, 175-7; slinging-stones, 66; stele, 386-7; tools, miscellaneous, 235; whetstone, 66.
- Stonehenge, the age of, 17-23, 220, 223-4, 225.
- Storrington urn, the, 171.
- Strainer, copper, 368.
- Stukeley, William, his contribution to archaeology, 222-6.
- Sturge, Dr., 69.
- Stutfield, Alfred Robert Ogilvie, obituary of, 350.
- Suffield, Bishop Walter de, 117, 118.
- Sumner, John, 342.
- Surrey Archaeological Collections*, reviewed, 100.
- Sussex Archaeological Collections*, reviewed, 100.
- Sussex loops, bronze, 2.
- Sussex Notes and Queries*, reviewed, 101, 196-7, 326, 479.
- Sutton Courtenay (Berks.), the excavations at, 279, 284, 286.
- Swallowcliffe (Wilts.), 28, 33.
- Swinerton, Prof. H. H., 'The Prehistoric Pottery Sites of the Lincolnshire Coast', 210, 239-53, 254.
- Sword, iron, 441.
- Table from Ur, 366.
- Tablets, clay, 357, 358, 364.
- Tanner, L. E., 209; elected to the Council, 353.
- , and A. W. Clapham, on recent discoveries in Westminster Abbey, 209.
- Tanton, Rev. W. P., 173.
- Taylor, Miss, 267.
- Taylor, Dr. John George, 342.
- Tello, chronology of, 360.
- Terra-cotta plaque from Colchester, 76.
- Tetricus, coin of, 44, 63.
- Theodosius, House of, coin of, 63.
- Theodosius I, coin of, 63.
- Thermi (Lesbos), excavations at, 341.
- Thessalian remains, 231-5.
- Thomas, Dr. H. H., 17, 298, 437.
- Thomas-Stanford, Sir Charles, Bt., obituary of, 350.
- Thompson, A. Hamilton, reviews by, 181-5.
- Thornborough Moor earthwork, 156.
- Tiles from: Alchester, 42; Colchester, 76; Ewell, 443.
- Toilet-pot, calcite, 380.
- Tolson, Legh, obituary of, 350.
- Toms, H. S., his survey of Hollingbury Camp, 1, 2.
- Torc, bronze, 2.
- Tower foundations, the, at Alchester, 35-6, 40-1.
- Towthorpe, flint-knife from, 160.
- Toy, S., 341; elected to the Council, 353.
- Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, reviewed, 101.
- Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 98.
- Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 476-7.
- Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 477.
- Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, reviewed, 197-8.
- Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 99.
- Transactions of the East Herts. Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 99.
- Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, reviewed, 477.
- Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 477.
- Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, reviewed, 99.
- Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, reviewed, 480.
- Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 195.
- Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, reviewed, 196.
- Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club*, reviewed, 326.
- Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club*, reviewed, 100.
- Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, reviewed, 97.
- Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, reviewed, 328.
- Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, reviewed, 192.

*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiolo-
gical Society*, reviewed, 196.
*Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeo-
logical Society*, reviewed, 196.
*Transactions of the Southend-on-Sea Anti-
quarian and Historical Society*, reviewed,
479.
Transactions of the Thoroton Society, re-
viewed, 101, 479.
Treppin, Ernest Charles, obituary of,
350.
Tridents, copper, 366, 368.
Tristram, Prof. E. W., his copies, etc. of
wall-paintings, 306, 396 n. 3, 400 n. 1.
Trowel, iron, 266.
Trundle, the, 2, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.
Tudons, Es, the naveta of, 127-31, 133,
134.
Tumbler, copper, 368.
Turner, Rev. Archer, his gift to the Society,
350.
Tusk of boar, 67.
Tweezers, bronze, 66.
Two-stepped castles, the, of Aberdeenshire,
163.

'Ubaid, al, remains at Ur, 360, 379.
Uffington Castle (Berks.), 13.
University of Pennsylvania, Museum of
the, excavations at Ur, 355-92.
Ur, chronology of: Archaic II, 379, 381,
383; First Dynasty, 356, 357, 358,
360, 361, 363, 376, 378, 379, 381;
Isin, 375; Jemdet Nasr, 358; kassite,
356, 376, 384, 390; Lagash, 361, 362,
387; Larsa, 375, 376, 377, 379, 389,
391; Neo-Babylonian, 356, 370, 372,
374-5, 384, 386, 390; Persian, 391-2;
Sargonid, 357, 361, 362, 366, 367;
Second Dynasty, 357, 361, 362, 363;
Third Dynasty, 356, 357, 358, 359,
363, 367, 370-4, 377, 379, 384, 392;
al 'Ubaid, 360, 379.
—, excavations at, 355-92: the cemetery
site, 357-69; the Dungi mausoleum,
358; forts, 376, 384-92; shrines, 384,
386; the Temenos, 356-7; the Zig-
gurat, 369-74; the Ziggurat terrace,
374-83.
—, objects from: animal remains, 365,
367, 368; axes, 366, 367, 368; beads,
366, 367, 368, 369, 381, 390, 391;
benches, 364, 365; boats, model, 366,
368; bowls, 366, 367, 368, 369, 391-
2; bracelets, 366, 367, 368, 369; bricks
and brickwork, 356, 358, 359, 360,
364, 371-3, 375, 379-80, 381-3, 386;
bucket, 369; cauldrons, 366-8; coffins,

362, 366-7, 368-9, 390; columns,
376-7; cones, 376, 377, 383; cylin-
ders, 375; dagger, 366; discs, 369,
380; figures, 380-1; fireplaces, 365,
366; frontlets, 366, 367, 368, 369;
gaming-board, 391; gate-sockets, 375;
gold objects, miscellaneous, 362; inscrip-
tions, 358, 375, 376, 377, 387; jar,
380; jar-sealings, 357; knife, 367;
marmite, 368; matting, 358, 362,
367, 368, 369; miniature objects, 373;
mug, 391; necklaces, 366, 367, 368,
369; pins, 367, 369; pots, 366, 368,
369; pottery, miscellaneous, 361, 363,
391; razor, 380; ribbon, gold, 366,
367, 368, 369; rings, ear-, 367, 368,
369, 391; —, finger, 367, 368, 369,
391; —, hair, 366, 368, 369; saucer,
369; sculpture, 360, 386; seal-impres-
sions, 390; seals, 357, 364, 365, 367,
368, 369, 380, 390; spears, 369; stele,
386-7; strainer, 368; table, 366;
tablets, 357, 358, 364; toilet-pot, 380;
tridents, 366, 368; tumbler, 368; vases,
366, 367, 368, 380, 383, 390; vessels,
366, 368, 369.
—, remains, etc. of: A-an-ni-pad-da, 360;
Adad-aplu-iddinam, 387; Bur-Sin,
359; Dungi, 356, 358, 359, 367, 386;
Eannatum, 363; Entemena, 360, 361;
Gudea, 363, 392; Kuri-Galzu, 376,
377, 386, 387, 388, 399; Mes-kalam-
dug, 362; Nabonidus, 369, 370, 371,
372, 373, 384; Nannar, 374, 375,
381, 388; Nebuchadnezzar, 356, 357,
374, 384; Nur-Adad, 375, 376;
Sargon, 361; Sinbalatsu-iqbi, 387;
Ur-Bau, 363; Ur-Engur, 370, 371,
372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 382;
Ur-Nina, 361, 387; Warad-Sin, 376,
377, 378, 379, 389.
Ur-Bau, remains of, at Ur, 363.
Ur-Engur, remains of, at Ur, 370, 371,
372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378,
382.
Ur-Nina, remains of, at Ur, 361, 387.
Urns, pottery, 55, 58, 59, 148, 279, 296-
7, 443, 444.

Valens, coin of, 63.
Vases, calcite, 380; clay, 366, 367, 383;
copper, 366, 367, 368; pottery, 231,
232, 233, 234, 235.
Vassits, Prof. M., 116.
Vayson de Pradenne, A., *Les fraudes en
archéologie préhistorique*, reviewed, 470-
2.
Veeck, Walther, *Die Alamannen in Würt-
temberg*, reviewed, 309-11.

- Verulamium, excavations at, 212, 342, 343.
 Vespasian, coins of, 76, 266 n. 2.
 Vessels, clay, 366, 368; pottery, 53, 148.
 Vidler, L. A., on pottery and tile kilns on the site of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Rye, 209.
 Vinča (Yugo-Slavia), excavations at, 116.
 W., J. F., review by, 316-17.
 W., H. B., review by, 463-6.
 Wakefield, flint implement from near, 449-50.
 Walker, Dr. J. W., 449-50.
 Wall-paintings, in Buckinghamshire churches, 305-6; Byzantine, 341; in Wiltshire, 393-406.
 Walsley, Prof., on a Bronze Age cist, 299-300.
Walpole Society, *The nineteenth volume of the*, reviewed, 98.
 Walters, Frederick Arthur, obituary of, 350.
 Walrus-ivory draughtsman, 177-8.
 Warad-Sin, remains of, at Ur, 376, 377, 378, 379, 389.
 Ward, Dr. Gordon Reginald, 341.
 Warkworth Castle, objects from, 301-2.
 Warnock, Robert, 299-300, 301.
 Warren, F., 209.
 Warren, S. Hazzledine, 240, 287; 'Prehistoric Timber Structures associated with a Briquetage Site in Lincolnshire', 254-6.
 Warren Hill (Suffolk), flint from, 68-9.
 Warrington Friary, excavations at, 448-9.
Waters of Arun, by A. Hadrian Allcroft, reviewed, 82-4.
 Webb, Edward Doran, obituary of, 350.
 Wessex, the alleged Second Belgic invasion into, 27-34.
 Westminster Palace, wall-paintings in, 393, 396.
 West-Saxon graves in Berks., 445.
 Weybridge (Surrey), pottery from, 154.
 Wheeler, Dr. R. E. M., 36, 160, 171, 342, 384, 432, 439.
 Whelan, C. Blake, 298.
 Whetstone, 66.
 Whitaker, Thomas Dunham, portrait of, 349.
 White, W. L., 171.
 Whitehawk camp (Sussex), pottery from, 154.
 Whiting, William, obituary of, 350, 252.
 Whittaker, Miss B., 35 n. 1.
 Whyte, Edward Towry, obituary of, 350, 352.
 Wickham, West, helmet at, 144.
Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift, reviewed, 199.
 Wilde, Edward Hugh Norris, gifts to the Society in memory of, 209, 350; obituary of, 350.
 Willett, Henry, 174.
 William I, 122.
 Williams, Albert Addams, obituary of, 350.
 Williams-Freeman, Dr. J. P., 342.
 Willoughton (Lincs.), hanging-bowl from, 452-3.
 Wilmot, John, portrait of, 350.
 Wiltshire, excavated sites in, 28-33; 411-30; wall-paintings in, 393-406.
Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, reviewed, 197, 479.
 Winchester bowl, the, 174, 175.
 Windmill Hill (Wilts.), 28.
 Windsor helm, the, 137.
 Winkelbury (Wilts.), 28, 32, 33.
 Witte, Prof. F., 302.
 Winterbourne villages, the (Wilts.), 397-8.
 Winterbourne Dauntsey church (Wilts.), and its wall-paintings, 398-406.
 Wolf's tooth from Ur, 367.
 Wollaston, Sir Gerald Woods, 209, 341.
 Wood, Herbert, 341.
 Wood, the preservation of, 14.
 Wooden objects: carving, 209; fragments, 47, 65; paxes, 116, 445-6; structures, prehistoric, 254-6.
 Woodforde, Christopher, on the Long Melford lily-crucifix, 24-5.
 Woodward, Sir Arthur Smith, 433.
 Wooldridge, Dr. Sidney, on the geology of Ightham, 295-6.
 Woolley, C. Leonard, 'Excavations at Ur, 1931-2', 355-92, 490.
 Woolley, Mrs. C. Leonard, 355.
 Woolsthorpe (Lincs.), Roman blast furnace at, 262-8.
 Wyngaerde's view of Oatlands palace, 349.
 Yahia, 355.
Year's Work in Classical Studies, *The*, reviewed, 191.
Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, *The*, reviewed, 101, 197.
Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, reviewed, 101, 479.
 Young, George, 279.
 Ythancester, 124.
 Yugo-Slavia, excavations in, 116.
 Zillwood, Mr. 402.
Zimbabwe Culture, *The*, by G. Caton-Thompson, reviewed, 80-2.

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